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SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY
IN ENGLAND

Social Christianity in England

A Study in its Origin and Nature

BY

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TO
THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED
IN TOKEN OF GRATITUDE

PREFACE

“HABENT sua fata libelli.” If that is true, it certainly can be said of this little book which, in its German form, was published in 1926 after two years of different attempts to work out in black and white the results of one of the greatest experiences of my life. I had been rather a strong nationalist, having taken part in the last war and fought against the British section of the Western Front, when, in 1924, I got an invitation from the Council for International Service of the Society of Friends to spend a term at Woodbrooke College in Birmingham. No Old Woodbrooker has ever managed to describe in adequate terms the joy and wonder, the inspiration and encouragement which the fellowship of that community gives to those who have the privilege to join it. There a German student, coming from the unimaginable horrors of a country under the spell of currency inflation, found a peace which passed all understanding. There I not only heard about

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Pacifism, but made friends with Pacifists who had suffered for their convictions while I had been fighting. And as at Woodbrooke, I found also at different places nothing but kindness from people whom I had thought to be my enemies.

Thus prepared, I took part in the Copec Conference of April 1924 in Birmingham, where I saw the enthusiastic reception which we German visitors received, heard some of the greatest religious speakers of this country, witnessed how "Woodbine Willy"—God bless his memory!—Leyton Richards—one of the greatest preachers living—William Wilson, my friend and teacher from Woodbrooke, and many others pleaded for a permanent peace—and there and then I became a Pacifist. There I lived a glorious week in the midst of enthusiastic followers of Christ from practically all the Churches in Great Britain, where one felt unmistakably the Spirit of God being present and moving men's hearts to great testimonies for goodness, purity, sincerity, righteousness, justice, and love. And there and then I became a lover of English people and a brother of English Christians. And I came away as a different man altogether.

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After another month at Woodbrooke, where my new views of a Social Christianity were confirmed and made clearer, I went home to fulfil the pledge I had given one afternoon at Copec when I could not help getting up and—though the youngest member of the German group—saying that we ought to fight on both sides of the Channel against all the old prejudices of the pre-war and the war propaganda. I did it with some difficulties by going about in Germany and lecturing on Copec and English Social Christianity, and by publishing a little book which showed the historical background of the Copec Conference and gave a short presentation of the main ideas of its twelve Commission Reports.

This book was translated into English by the kindness and labour of Mr Scott Bayliss, B.A., then Lector of English at the University of Giessen, now at Farnham School in Surrey, and the Student Christian Movement kindly undertook to publish it. As, however, it would not have been wise to publish it in its German form, since it contained a lot of information for Germans which was not needed for English readers, especially as there had been quite a number of publications on Copec in English, the publishers asked me to revise the book.

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This I started to do. But, meanwhile, I had, through the goodness of the Rockefeller Foundation, got a scholarship for two years to study in England, which I spent half at Woodbrooke and half at Balliol College, Oxford. Having this great privilege I undertook to study afresh English social and ecclesiastical history which showed me clearly in how many aspects my little book needed revision. So I worked at it afresh, rewrote some parts, cut out others and added some new chapters. Finally, by the help of some very valuable suggestions from the Master of Balliol, for which I want to thank him here very much, all mere information about Copec was left out altogether and the historic and philosophical research concentrated to answer the question : *Why has Social Christianity its deepest root in England ?*

Thus only little more than a third of this book is a translation of the German edition, while all the rest has been written by myself directly in an English which, of course, compares unfavourably with that of the translator. I, therefore, beg the reader to excuse the inequality of style and ask his patience for my humble attempts to write in his native language. I also would like to say how conscious I am of the

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inadequacy of an outsider's presentation of English Christianity, but I hope that this may to some extent be compensated by the impartiality of one who has come to sympathise with all denominations.

I am greatly indebted to His Grace the Archbishop of York for his kindness in introducing this little book to the English public, and I also greatly appreciate the help of Mr Bayliss and the patience of the publishers.

J. F. LAUN.

Summer 1929,
BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Note

Numbers in the text thus (1) refer to notes at the end of the book.

FOREWORD

BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

I HOPE that many who are interested, not only in the Christian Social Movement, but in the history and special character of English Christianity, will read this admirable survey. It is a great advantage to see ourselves for a time through the eyes of an "outsider," as Dr Laun calls himself. We see many new aspects of our own story which from our own natural standpoint are less evident; and others assume a different perspective.

Most members of the Church of England will, I think, be surprised at the prominence here given to Luther and Calvin as influences on English religious life. It is natural that a Continental writer should look for the traces in our development of those who were of so supreme importance in the European Reformation. Probably we attach too little

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importance to their influence among ourselves. None, of course, would deny that it existed. But most of us do not seek there the springs of our own religious life. We are even more insular than Dr Laun has represented us. If I may make a personal confession, it never even occurs to me to inquire what elements in our belief or practice are derived from Lutheran or Calvinist sources, except in relation to some special controversy. These names are not living forces among us, though many of the living forces among us may in historic truth and justice be intimately connected with these names.

The chief point at which I feel some divergence of estimate in my reading of our history from Dr Laun's concerns the importance of Humanism. He gives it a very definite place; but in my judgment he does not allow to it a quarter of the influence which it has really exerted. This great influence of Humanism closely coheres—partly as cause and partly as effect—with that specially intimate association of religion with social and political life which Dr Laun emphasises as characteristic of our history. Moreover, this English Humanism has a special quality, which is partly rooted in the

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English character and perhaps in the English countryside ; but this special quality is also due to an influence which has been more powerful in English religion than that of Augustine, Luther, and Calvin added together—the influence of Plato. It is this, with its strong trend towards unity and “wholeness,” with its combination of poetic mysticism with practical enterprise, with its discovery in an ultimate other-worldliness of a spur to reforming action in the present, with its ardent culture and mellow zeal—it is Platonism which has supplied, here as (I believe) nowhere else, the general setting and temper in which we try to deal with the problems of each day as they arise. Dr Laun discusses how far “Copec” is Catholic and how far it is Protestant, and estimates the amount that Lutheranism and Calvinism have contributed to it. All these influences played their part ; but at the root “Copec” is more Platonist than anything else.

Of course, the ordinary Englishman does not know much about Plato. But the Dean of St Paul’s is certainly right in saying that Platonism has been the prevailing intellectual influence in English thought. Individuals and movements have broken away ; but the steady stream is

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Platonist. And this affects our religious life quite as much as our general culture ; for we have not trained our religious leaders as specialists. It would be interesting to know how many of the present Bench of Bishops, how many of our leading theologians in all denominations, studied theology for their University degrees : they must be very few. I believe this would not be true of Scotland, where religious history has been very different. But in England our religious leaders have nearly all received their general education in the Classical Literatures, in History humanistically conceived, or in that curiously successful amalgam called at Oxford the Final School of *Literæ Humaniores* or (for short) Greats. Their study of theology has been undertaken after their mental habits had been formed by this humanistic discipline ; and in that discipline the supreme influence is Plato.

I have ventured to add these paragraphs for the consideration of readers because they may give a further stimulus to inquiry into the field which Dr Laun so admirably opens up. I am very much in his debt for many a fresh illumination, and I warmly commend his book both to all who are already interested in his subject,

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promising them an abundance of fresh food for reflection, and to all who are not yet interested, promising them that as they turn his pages they will become so.

WILLIAM EBOR:

BISHOPTHORPE,
YORK, *19th October 1929.*

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Social Christianity in England

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An International Movement for Social Rebirth in and through Christianity

WE are to-day passing through a serious crisis for civilisation. Our whole material and spiritual world is shaken as by earthquake shocks. Some say that these are the promised signs of the end; others that they are the birth-throes of a new world. Can both, perhaps, be right?

Besides signs of transition, such as the confusion of taste and the general unrest and uncertainty, there is a considerable number of typical signs of old age, and even of decay. Instinct and feeling have yielded to intellect, action to reflection, pessimism, scepticism, and excessive caution are rife; quantity is overstressed, and the result is "hustle," neurosis

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and strain ; so, too, the creative is subordinated to the organising faculty, and, finally, individualisation and specialisation are carried too far. Does all this mean definite decay, as Oswald Spengler suggests, which would allow us nothing but resignation, or, at most, futile revolt ? If it were not for my belief in Christianity I should say Yes ! But seeing Christianity as an innate dynamic of our civilisation I cannot believe that a prophecy based on a comparison of our civilisation with previous unchristian civilisations could be right. For us, there is a better way !

It is a very hopeful sign of a healthy reaction that recently there has arisen a number of movements which aim at emancipation from the old fetters that prevent a true revival. These great movements : the Youth Movement, the Women's Movement, the Labour Movement, and the Peace Movement, all aim at reforming our culture. The Youth Movement seeks a rebirth of a spiritual attitude towards the whole of life ; the Women's Movement, in opposition to the intellectualism which has resulted from male predominance, seeks to give the female qualities the opportunity of bearing fruit in public life ; the Labour Move-

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ment aims at Socialism as against Individualism ; the Peace Movement seeks to overcome the materialism of brute force by faith in the power of the spirit and the might of love. Thus all the decadent tendencies have their reactions, whose mere existence proves that there is still the will to true culture among us.

In the whole of this movement towards cultural rebirth two great tendencies may be distinguished ; the one striving for a rebirth of the spirit of fellowship—the social tendency of our time—and the other striving for unity.

The word “social” is to be taken here in its widest sense, as including every kind of human association. In this sense the social question is the problem of a renewal from within of the whole life of the community in all its phases. Here the essential question which faces us is : In *what* spirit shall this renewal take place ? There have been various answers. Some wish to go back to general humanitarian principles. Perhaps the insufficiency of this basis is the reason for the weaknesses of the Women’s Movement and part of the Peace Movement. Others waive any claim to spirituality and believe that the new world can be created purely by economic and

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political reform, or even by class war. But that can only lead, even at best, to the substitution of one class for another in the rôle of oppressor, but never to the abolition of oppression itself, which is rooted in selfishness, wherever found. The solution of the problem can, therefore, only lie in the overcoming of selfishness. This is where the Labour Movement fails, *i.e.*, in so far as it combats the only force which can overcome selfishness — religion — which to us means Christianity, the religion of love. The answer to our question, then, must be that a cultural rebirth can only take place in the spirit of Christianity.

From this standpoint the crisis appears as the result of our desertion of Christianity, the innermost essence of our culture. The social problem thus becomes a Christian social problem. From Christianity must and can come the liberation from the forces in which selfishness—individual as well as collective—is embodied to-day — Nationalism, Militarism, Materialism, Capitalism. Materialism, the belief in the power of matter, in its two most dangerous forms, as Capitalism, the belief in the power of wealth, and as Militarism, the belief in the power of brute force, can only be checked

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by the Christian belief in the power of the spiritual personality and of love ; and Nationalism, the enthronement of the national self, only by the Christian belief in a universal brotherhood. This is the conviction of a steadily growing international movement for social rebirth through Christianity.

Herein not only the social but also the unifying tendency finds its expression. From the recognition of the universality of the social evils and the division caused by the forces mentioned, arises the idea of co-operation. It appeared simultaneously in the most varied fields : in industry, where even selfish motives nowadays demand co-operation, and in politics, where the need arose for international co-operation in solving the great problems of "reconstruction," the chief post-war problem of Europe. There can be no doubt that the consciousness of the general division of mankind and its frightful results was first awakened by the war, and thereby the efforts for unity, which had already existed for some time, were strengthened. And here, too, Christianity, *i.e.*, the Christian Church, must be leading.

Owing to the realisation of this necessity we find that after centuries of division the Chris-

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tian churches are seeking to combine, or, at any rate, to co-operate for definite tasks. Six years before the war the great American churches combined on a federal basis; four years after the war the federation of the German Protestant churches became a fact. The Church of England, too, is striving towards a greater inner unity, and sees her special task in mediation between the Protestant churches, on the one side, and the Greek and Roman Catholic churches on the other. The fact that a much greater measure of success has been attained in this field than in the political, can be explained by the existence of a common loyalty towards one person, Jesus Christ, and the idea resulting from it of the essential unity of the Church Universal. And in the general cultural sphere there will be no real advance until a great unifying idea finds general acceptance. This must be the Christian idea of the brotherhood of mankind as the family of God the Father. This message the churches can only give by promoting their own reunion.

In order to strive for that great aim of a cultural rebirth through social reconstruction and reunion, a number of Œcumenical Conferences, *i.e.*, Conferences of the Church Universal

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through participation of all its branches-- Rome, though excluding itself, was virtually included!—have been held in recent years at Stockholm (1925), at Lausanne (1927), at Prague (1928), and at Jerusalem (1928), each of which was a real achievement. Stockholm prepared the mind of the nations for Locarno, and gave the churches the first opportunity to realise their common mind, thus preparing the way to Lausanne, where a frank discussion of the points of disagreement, as well as of those of agreement, created much sympathy where hitherto apathy, or even antipathy, had prevailed. At Prague, therefore, Churchmen from nations bitterly at war only ten years before found themselves so much at one in spirit that they could discuss as delicate a problem as disarmament with a much more helpful frankness than had been possible at any political conference. Greater, even, was the contribution towards world-brotherhood which the Jerusalem Conference made, since the apostolic spirit of true mission work, which we had felt so helpful, even at Lausanne, created the most favourable atmosphere.

But wonderful as these achievements are, they are yet nothing more than first steps,

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which must be followed by many others if there is to be a real advance. Yet, no such advance is possible unless we know where we are, and whither we ought to go. It seems to me, therefore, that, among other things, a careful study of the past is necessary, in order to understand the present and to plan the future. With this great aim in view, it might not be considered merely retrospective, if we set out on the following pages to try and trace out some of the main roots in history out of which the Christian social and reunion movement sprang.

In planning to do this, one might set out to study the ecclesiastical and social history of most of the great nations and of some of the smaller ones—Sweden or Switzerland not being the least among them—in order to get a comprehensive view of the whole development. This, however, is a task which cannot yet be properly fulfilled, since the ground must first be prepared by detailed study. It is to the latter that I have devoted a considerable part of my time, during the last years, concentrating chiefly upon the contribution which the English churches have made to the development in question. This contribution is not small, in

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fact, it is the biggest of all, as far as I see, an affirmation which can only be proved by all that follows in this little book. But so much is obvious that there is no nation, not even America, where Christianity is, and for centuries past has been, so intensely "social" in its attitude as the English nation. England, therefore, is the only country where a completely adequate and effective preparation for the Stockholm Conference—in fact an indispensable one, in the opinion of Archbishop Soederblom—has been made by what is known as the Copec Conference of Birmingham in 1924. But even more, it was in England that the very idea of a common Council of all the churches for tackling the social problem has been born—which may be seen below.

Thus, it is no wonder that we should ask ourselves: *Why has social Christianity its deepest root in England?* and that this question should arouse the keenest interest of all concerned with the social rebirth of mankind.

The following pages give an attempt to answer this question. The inadequacy of it, owing to the fact that it has been made by an "outsider," *i.e.*, not an Englishman, may at

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least partly be compensated for by the less biassed judgment which an onlooker can have. This attitude also gave me an opportunity of studying the history and the nature of English Christianity quite on my own. The difficulty of understanding it led me to some fundamental investigations of Christianity and its denominational differentiation, which I might profitably reproduce here first.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDATIONS

1. *Catholicism and Protestantism*

To understand English Christianity it is not sufficient to make vague generalisations or pass quick judgments. Again and again you can hear people in Germany say that "England is a Protestant country." The chief reason for that is, I believe, that the nature of the Church of England has not yet been understood in our country. Indeed, the Prayer Book controversy shows that even in England there is a good deal of uncertainty as to whether England is a Protestant country or not, and whether the Church of England may be called Protestant or Catholic, or perhaps both. It seems to me, therefore, that before we try to understand the nature of Anglicanism we ought to realise the true nature of either Catholicism and Protestantism as well as the essential relation of both.

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We may hope that a short realisation of *the nature of religion* will throw a new light upon the matter at issue. Religion is the relation between God and man, created by God through revelation and accepted by man through faith. It is, therefore, as regards man, a dynamic state of being absolutely bound to God—as Schleiermacher has expressed the religious experience—the dynamic of which is created—as Rudolf Otto has shown (1),—by the constant working of both repulsion and attraction, the *mysterium tremendum* and the *mysterium fascinosum*. Martin Luther has been fully aware of that antinomy of the fundamental elements of religion when in his Small Catechism he showed the religious foundation of the Decalogue by beginning the explanation of every one of the Ten Commandments with the words: “We shall so *love and fear God* that we . . .” (*i.e.*, fulfil His commandments). Indeed, when God reveals Himself in this world—whether through man or through Nature, or in any form whatever—the human heart reacts towards Him with fear and love. Neither of these two elements is totally absent in any religious experience, though one of them may be of overwhelming influence. When man experiences the presence of God he

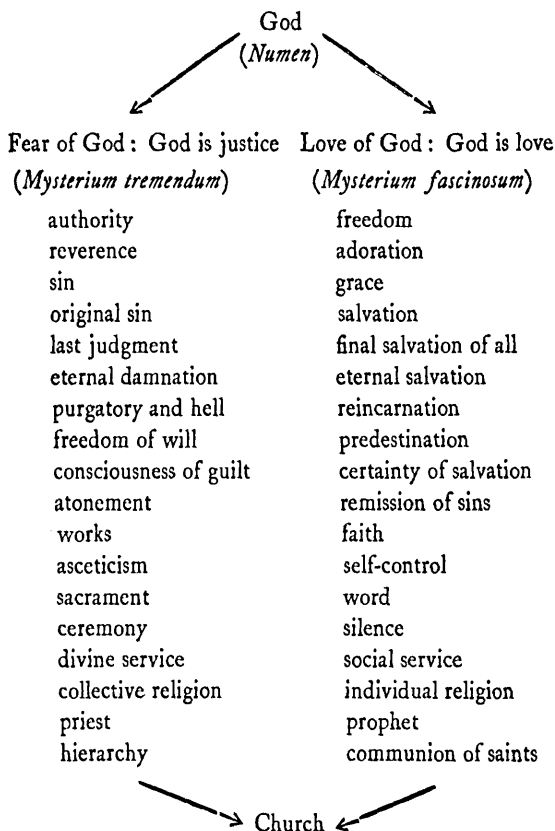
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tries to run away from Him, and yet would rather have complete community with Him ; he feels in His power, and yet tries to revolt against Him, or even to deny His existence ; he asserts himself to be totally independent, and yet would rather be in a blissful dependence upon a heavenly Father.

This antinomy of religion—be it an historic phenomenon or personal experience—has found its expression in human thinking about religion, *i.e.*, in theology, as well as in religious acting, *i.e.*, in worship and morals, and in religious institutions in different forms, which are opposed and yet related to one another. Instead of trying to explain that any further, we might as well give evidence of the antinomy of religion as shown by the table on next page.

This table is not meant to contain every element of religion nor even to do full justice to every one of the elements mentioned. It is only a rough division of two groups of religious elements between which an opposition cannot be denied, the elements of each side being interdependent, although the nature of their opposition is quite different in the (upper) theological half from that in the (lower) practical half of the diagram.

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As fear of God and love of God constitute the elements of every religion, we find elements of both sides of our table in every religion. But, indeed, everything depends on the fact

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which of both sides is accentuated most. So, while by different mixtures of the elements of both sides a great variety of different forms of religion is conceivable, we may find two main sects within a great religion opposed to each other, because one of them stresses most the elements of "fear," while the other lays the chief emphasis on the elements of "love."

Accordingly, we find in *Christianity* a great many different sects, but they may be grouped into two main opposing types. In one, the chief stress is laid on the justice of God and His immense power, so that man's chief duty is obedience to Him and His representatives on earth. Fear of God is needed first of all, because it helps to the realisation of man's sin. The chief stress is, therefore, laid on a system of salvation by atonement and absolution by the Church, which is chiefly an authority. To work out one's own salvation through the institutions of the Church is most essential. Therefore, a system of sacraments and ceremonies, which in their turn afford a hierarchy of priests, is developed. Opposed to this is the other chief type of Christianity, in which the chief stress is laid on the fact that God is love, whom we must love more than fear. He does not wait till we

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come to Him, but He offers His grace to man for his salvation, and what is needed on the side of man is only faith. Therefore, no sacramental system is needed, but only the preaching of the Gospel, which is the Word of God, or even mere silence before Him, who speaks within us. True service of God is not so much "Divine service" as "Social service." Therefore, no priests are needed, but rather prophets and pioneers, no otherworldly asceticism, but a life within this world in self-control and self-sacrifice through love.

It is obvious that these chief types of Christianity are those which we commonly call *Catholicism* and *Protestantism*. It may be repeated that we do not suggest that one is a religion of fear and the other a religion of love only and simply, but we may be right in saying that, although both the elements of fear and of love are in both types of Christianity, the chief stress is laid in Catholicism upon the elements of fear of God and in Protestantism upon the elements of love of God.

Now, as we have seen before that fear and love are the elements of every religion, we may not be surprised to find that the antithesis between "Catholicism" and "Protestantism" is to be

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found in almost every religion. This has first been pointed out by Professor Heinrich Frick, of Giessen University, in an essay on *Der katholisch-protestantische Zwiespalt als religionsgeschichtliches Urphänomen*, (2), in which he showed that, e.g., in the religious history of India we find the struggle between *dhyana-marga* (salvation through knowledge) and *karma-marga* (salvation through works), or in Japanese Buddhism we find the struggle between Zen-Buddhism, "a highly developed religion of exercises," and Amidism, "a religion of devotion." We may add that in Islam we find the opposition of the Nationalist Mutazilites and the mystic Sufiz against the legalistic orthodoxy, which is a tendency especially strong in modern Islam. Dr Frick pointed out that even in primitive religion we find an opposition between the ordinary "medicine-man," who has organised religion to a more or less elaborated system of salvation, and others who, by a sudden inspiration, claim to utter divine oracles. Are we not justified in saying that, with the former, distance from God is most essential, that is to say, fear, while with the latter the great thing is to be "possessed by God," an attitude which is more related to

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love ? But Dr Frick is also right in suggesting that the "Catholic" tendency is to make religion a thing of everyday life, by organising its working, while the "Protestant" tendency is to believe in the Spirit who "bloweth where it listeth." One tends to make God incarnate in this world, while the other tends to demonstrate the otherworldliness of the "Holy." Yet, strangely enough, one may also state the relation in the opposite way: Is not otherworldliness and the setting aside of certain times and spaces an essential feature of Catholicism, while Protestantism claims that the fulfilment of man's daily duties is the true service of God, and that one can worship God everywhere and at all times ? Therefore, it seems to me that the true difference between both is realised better by attaching it to the difference between fear of God and love of God. For fear of God may lead to otherworldliness as well as to organised efforts to do justice to Him in everyday life, just as love of God may lead to the realisation of God's presence everywhere, as well as to the quiet and patient waiting for His voice to speak in men's hearts.

Then we may, indeed, say that just as love and fear are both necessary elements of every

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religion, there is also in every religion the antithesis between a "Catholic" and a "Protestant" tendency. Now to go a step further, we must realise that there is a very important difference between these two tendencies and "Catholicism" and "Protestantism." A religion becomes Catholicism when the Catholic tendency is so overstressed that the Protestant elements are only of secondary importance, or even may partly be almost forgotten, while the reverse state of things is Protestantism. It must be made quite clear that in the ideal religion there would be neither Catholicism nor Protestantism, but a complete synthesis of fear of God and love of God. It is our belief that in Jesus Christ this ideal has been fulfilled, but in Him alone, not even in His disciples, so that there was Catholicism in Peter and James, and in Paul's sacramentalism, as well as Protestantism in John, and in Paul's doctrine of justification by faith. As far as we can see, this seems to be necessarily so because of human imperfection, which makes it impossible for us to realise fully that fear of God and love of God are one. Accordingly, we find in every religion a constant fluctuation between two extremities: the religious mind—of the com-

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munity as well as of the individual—is always out of balance, tending either to one side or to the other, as a result of which we find either Catholicism or Protestantism. Unfortunately those different reactions mostly lead to the formation of definite sects of that religion, each of which then claims to be its true and complete form. But really both those chief types—to which all the other forms may be reduced—are one-sided and, therefore, so long as the ideal synthesis cannot be achieved, both types are necessary supplements of the one true religion, two hemispheres which only in complete unity would form the true religion.

What is the result of our investigation so far? It is this, that *Catholicism and Protestantism are both essentially necessary forms of every religion which supplement one another*. This truth is most important as a foundation for the reunion of the churches. I will, therefore, pursue it further in another publication. For the purpose of this introduction it seems to me more important to try to complete the above statement of the essential differences of both these types with regard to church organisation, which, I hope will, after our realisation of that truth, not be misunderstood as being totally

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exclusive. Also it must be said beforehand that there is and has been no realisation of quite pure Catholicism or Protestantism, but that the existing types of Christianity may be judged on the ground of our systematic investigation to which of these types they chiefly belong, and what elements they have of the other type. This, I hope, will help us to understand our different denominations better. But as there is no real understanding of realities unless we have perfectly clear abstract principles and categories, we must try to state the essential features of those chief types of Christian churches in a deductive and not a descriptive method.

What is a *church*? In its most general sense it is a religious community, the members of which have fellowship in adoration and obedience to God, in divine service and social service. In that sense there is no religion entirely without "church," because religion creates communion, although the development of it depends on the prevalence of individualist or collectivist elements. When God reveals Himself to a single man this experience drives him forth to propagate the news thereof, so that others may have the same experience and share it

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with him. That is how a religious community comes into being. Or God may reveal Himself directly to a group of men, grouped together by different and not necessarily religious reasons (cf. the revelation of Sinai and the wonder of Pentecost). By that He, as it were, directly founds a religious community centring in that common experience, and also endeavouring to spread the news thereof and make proselytes.

The *Christian Church* has been founded in both ways, indirectly through the personality of Jesus Christ and directly through the descent of the Holy Ghost. The Christian Church was already founded when the congregation of the disciples centred in the living Jesus. But as the cross brought about a crisis which nearly destroyed that young congregation, it was founded anew by God's revelation in the remaining group of the disciples through the risen Christ and the Spirit.

Consequently, we have in Christianity from the very beginning two different conceptions of the Church which are both essentially Christian; the Protestant-prophetic community of believers in Christ gathering round the Gospel that He had preached, and which had been completed by the joyful news of His re-

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surrection, a community in which all are equal, but those who had seen the Lord and, therefore, could repeat His sayings and doings, were leaders, and the Catholic-priestly community centring round the cult of the Christ in sacraments and ceremonies, a community in which, naturally, those who had the personal acquaintance of the Lord and, therefore, the right tradition, and to whom He had given His blessing and commission to feed His sheep and—by instituting them in their presence—to administer His sacraments, had a superiority in face of which there could be no real equality, but there were only sheep and shepherds.

Of course, I do not suggest that there were in the original Church actually those different types of congregations, but it seems quite obvious from what we know that there were—probably within nearly every congregation—those who held more the one and those who held more the other view of what the meaning of the Church was. We may only remember the different groups in Corinth (1 Cor. i. 10 ff.), which imply the idea that the prophetic personality of either Peter or Paul or Apollos was the centre of the community, while Paul's idea was that the congregations ought to be local

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units, which implies an outward principle of church organisation on condition that all are one in Christ. Here we have the opposing principles of free congregations and parishes.

But quite apart from those historic references, it may be deduced directly from the essence of religion in general and of Christianity in particular that the two chief elements of religion must also necessarily lead to two different conceptions of religious communities. Where the element of love is prevailing, personality is the centre of a congregation, the personality of Jesus Christ, whom all love and through whom all love each other. Consequently, the community is a free communion of free personalities, each of whom has equally free access to the Lord and God. There is no need for sacraments and ceremonies, although they may be regarded as helpful, no need, therefore, for priests, although the strongest personalities will have a prophetic leadership. This is the nature of a *Protestant church*. On the other hand, where the element of fear is prevailing, that is to say where the trust in God is not strong enough to create a personal relationship without a mediator or where the justice of Almighty God is felt so strongly that the feeling of sin

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prevails over the trust in grace, outward signs of the invisible become indispensable. So one must have ceremonies and sacraments and, therefore, priests and a hierarchy. Where there is no constant and immediate revelation through the right understanding of the Gospel by every Christian, tradition must be the chief authority, upon which the doctrine and preaching is built. This clearly is the nature of a *Catholic church*.

But there is something more in both names which may become clearer by realising the *relation* of these different types of church to the *State*. The former type is called Protestant, not only because of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, but rightly so because of its very nature. It is always protesting against the other type which, by the development of a more or less elaborated organisation, tends to suffocate the personal element in religion. It is, therefore, in its essence revolutionary, while the other is conservative. And, indeed, Ernst Troeltsch has shown that Christianity from its very beginning was both revolutionary and conservative. As we have seen, this was necessary, just because it was from its very beginning both Protestant and Catholic. And, of course, this latter name implies the tendency of spreading the Church

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organisation over the whole world. One cannot possibly do that with an idea of the Church which implies that all members must have a personal and immediate relation to God, for the problem of the masses cannot be tackled with such a point of view. Therefore, the State, being conservative itself, naturally inclines to sympathise with a Catholic church, but on condition that it does not interfere with its authority either by extending over the borders of the State or by owing allegiance to an authority outside the realm of the State, or, finally, by claiming control over State affairs. Hence all antagonism between the State and the Catholic Church happens, in spite of a natural affinity, while the attitude of the State towards the essentially revolutionary Protestant Church is normally hostile, except when that Church takes up at least some Catholic and conservative tendencies (as, *e.g.*, the German Lutheran Church has done from its very beginning), or when the State has a revolutionary Government (as, *e.g.*, England under Cromwell).

Many people who speak of Catholicism or Protestantism do not know what they mean. We have, therefore, tried to make clear what we mean in speaking of them, hoping that the

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realisation of the essential differences between Catholicism and Protestantism will help us to a better understanding of English Christianity, and especially of Anglicanism, which, as may be supposed already, is some kind of compromise between those two types of Christianity.

Anglicanism, however, represents only half the Christian population of England. Should we understand the second half, Nonconformity, we must characterise the fundamental elements of Protestantism, Lutheranism and Calvinism.

2. Lutheranism and Calvinism

The Reformation was an impulsive outburst of genuine religious feeling, the loosening of the tension which had arisen in late Catholicism between the doctrines and the practical attitude of the Church. It came from the centre of religion, but the form it took was conditioned by its opposition to the existing state of things. Nay, more, the nature of the religious awakening which caused the outburst was predetermined by the nature of the religious crisis arising out of the condition of the Church. One must, therefore, study the state of Catholicism at the opening of the sixteenth century if one is to

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understand the nature of the awakening. Nominalist theology and popular Catholic practice were both based upon the idea of the merit of good works and on the mediæval tendency to rely on a mediator between God and the individual soul, carried to its logical conclusion. God was enthroned as an arbitrary tyrant far beyond human reach, and His work of ruling and redeeming the world was delegated to the Church. He remained only the angry Judge. The religious crisis was caused by the fact that to those who took the Divine anger seriously the sacramental redemption of the Church brought no peace of mind, in spite of all their good works. The liberating and reforming perception was then that good works have nothing to do with salvation; that, on the other hand, God not only judges but saves by His free grace, and all that sinful man can do is to believe. In this way thoroughly personal relationship arose between God and the individual—the infinitely distant God came infinitely near.

This was the fruit of the experience of that man who suffered most under the crisis, and who, when the time was fulfilled, spoke the word of release for all—Luther. In the struggle

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with Catholicism which now set in, he was driven to the point of one-sidedness in the emphasis he laid on true personal inwardness as against the externals of ritual; on the free fellowship of all the faithful as against the cold institutionalism of the Church; on the Invisible Church as against the visible; on other-worldliness as against the worldliness prevailing; on dependence on faith instead of on works. Further one-sidedness was caused by the reaction against the radicalism of the Anabaptists and the revolutionary tendencies of the lower classes within the reforming movement, which endangered the newly-achieved Reformation. Fanaticism called forth an over-emphasis of the letter of Scripture, radicalism conservatism, revolution reliance on the secular Government, extreme individualism, a clinging to the organised Church, and the attempt to protect it by binding it to the State. This one-sidedness into which Luther fell, in spite of the depth and the necessity of the truths he stood for, made a complementary movement within the Reformation necessary.

This movement came from Calvin. He is quite definitely a disciple of Luther, as he himself repeatedly declared; for him, too,

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Luther is the Great Reformer. But consciously or unconsciously, at any rate through God's wonderful Providence, he extended Luther's reforming thought and practice. Necessary as was the stress Luther laid on the *sola fide*, the Protestant could as little disregard the importance of works. This meant for Calvin the active realisation of justification in sanctification. While the knowledge of the certainty of salvation so overwhelmed Luther that he went no further, Calvin drew the attention of Christians elsewhere by his doctrine of predestination, which frees men from all preoccupation with their salvation and allows them to devote their whole energies to sanctification. By thus placing everything still more consistently in the Divine hand a corrective was forged against all too great an attraction of God into the human sphere. That explains Calvin's special emphasis on the majesty and glory of God. And while Luther, in spite of his intimate personal relationship to God, never lost his fear of the devil, for Calvin the fear of God was stronger, and he attacked the devil at every point. This led him into the midst of the practice of the Christian's fight with the world, whereby God's Kingdom was to be set

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up to His glory in the whole world, and the sanctification of the individual Christian became the first demand. The fact that he stressed the practical importance of the Old Testament much more than Luther resulted in the legal element becoming stronger. Compromises, too, were unavoidable in such an energetic attempt to put Christian principles into practice. On the other hand it was possible to maintain a single standard of morality—which Luther had lost. For by consciously confining Christianity to the sphere of the inner life, and so disparaging the outer world, Luther had reached a point which practically amounted to the recognition of a double moral standard, only that for him it meant not a vertical division of Christendom into perfect and imperfect, as in Catholicism, but a horizontal division of each Christian into an inner and an outer sphere. Whereas Luther tried to keep himself “unspotted from the world”—a sublimation of the monastic ideal—Calvin sought to Christianise the world. As a result, the latter did not so much need to look forward to the end of the world for a change, and could turn more easily to practical Christianity.

From this comparison of the two great Re-

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formers we can see a wise Providence in the fact that neither of them came alone. The full fruit of the Reformation is only found in the teaching of both together. The more is the pity that their followers failed to recognise the Divine will in this, and formed two parties, each of which claimed to possess the whole truth. Moreover, Lutheranism was as great a falling-off from Luther as Calvinism was from Calvin. The Reformation doctrine then was not only torn in two, but each fragment was distorted as well. This was doubly regrettable, for, on the one hand, Luther's one-sidedness was not compensated by Calvin's, and, on the other, the compensating elements within each of the doctrines themselves were done away with in the effort to be consistent, so that the two churches stood opposing each other, trimmed of every inconsistency, like the two halves of a sphere. If only men had realised then, if not before, that the two halves belonged together ! But, instead, they attacked each other so fiercely that the common quarrel with Rome was almost forgotten. Can it be wondered at that so much of what the Reformation had won was lost again in the Counter-Reformation ? This was most of all the case

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in Lutheran districts, for the Lutherans defended their "purity of doctrine" so eagerly that they ran the risk of neglecting purity of life, to the scandal of Christendom. It was then that Calvinism completed its triumphal progress.

In spite of the one-sidedness of his doctrine, Luther's personal religion had been anything but one-sided. In spite of all his other-worldliness he did not forget the practical Christianity of every day. He called stable-cleaning God's service. But Lutheranism lost too much of the impulse to action, and yet claimed to follow the man of action, the man of Wittenberg and Worms. Moreover, it fell into pessimism, which paralysed it and delivered it over almost completely to Quietism. Luther, too, had felt the frightful power of sin, and knew that without God the world was lost ; but he was a pessimist only as long as he looked to human strength, and as he generally looked to God, and again and again, not only in his hymn, *Ein feste Burg*, followed up the despairing "In human strength we naught can do" with the confident "And were the world of devils full," he can more truthfully be called an incorrigible optimist. For optimism is faith, and the

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Lutheran's pessimism, in spite of his orthodoxy, unbelief.

Calvinism errs in the other direction. Calvin, himself, it is true, was full of energy, his faith was unshakable, but the glory of God was to him all in all, and by clinging unconditionally to Predestination he bound himself fast to God in all his actions. So his Activism could lead neither to Utopianism nor to the record-breaking Christianity we know from America. It is very significant here that English Calvinism in course of time has practically dropped the doctrine of Predestination. Without it as corrective the aspiration to sanctification was bound to lead to a reliance on good works, as it has done both in England and America. In both countries Calvinism has often fallen into exaggerated, unbalanced optimism, a belief in the splendid "progress" that we—not God—have made, simply because it has lost the consciousness of the awful power of sin—a sad relapse from Calvin. In other points, too, which it would take too long to go into, Calvinism, just like Lutheranism, exaggerates the doctrines of its founder.

That will best become clear if we place Lutheranism and Calvinism side by side.

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Lutheranism is to a large extent theoretical and dogmatic, unpractical, pessimistic, Quietist, regarding the world from the standpoint of *laissez-faire* ; Calvinism is, in general, practical and undogmatic, with theories often insufficiently thought out—this, too, is a falling off from the author of the *Institutio*—Utopianly optimistic, Activist to the point of superficiality, eager to Christianise the world, as if there were no such thing as sin. Each has expressed its inmost religious principles in an extreme movement : Lutheranism expressed in Pietism its Biblicalist inwardness and its inclination to an individualistic certainty of salvation, dependent purely on grace, and Calvinism expressed its legalist aspirations to sanctification and its matter-of-fact tendencies in Puritanism. Curiously enough, contempt for the world and ascetic habits are common to both. Both are reactions, bursting forth from the heart of religious feeling, against superficiality. The individualism of Lutheranism, expressed, *e.g.*, in unwillingness to give up a patriarchal social order, has in the course of history been fatal to it. At first, indeed, historical development set towards an unlimited individualism, and, so long, Lutheranism could co-operate in it ; but

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it cannot adapt itself to the new order that is coming ; that is the tragedy of the conservative, nay, reactionary, outlook it received from its founder. At the opening of the capitalist era Luther wrote his attacks on usury, and wanted to keep the economic order of the Middle Ages ; Lutheranism was anti-capitalist. But in the centuries that followed, it became reconciled to the capitalist system, and now at the dawn of a Socialist era it finds itself in the curious position of having to defend capitalism. It is, in fact, conservative, and so always far behind the times. Calvinism, on the other hand, was progressive from the beginning, and accepted capitalism as far as it could fill it with the Christian spirit ; that is one reason for the high moral standard in business which prevails in Calvinist countries, or did at any rate until a decade or two ago. In the same way to-day it can accept Socialism, to make it Christian Socialism, all the more strongly because its essence is far less individualistic than that of Lutheranism.

That is clearly visible in the different forms which the idea of the Kingdom of God has taken in Protestantism. For Jesus, as we know, it was a very complex idea, on the one hand

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of this, on the other of the other, world, present and future, growing like a grain of mustard seed and spreading like leaven. Since Christianity is just as much a falling off from Christ as Protestantism is from the Reformers, Christians have torn asunder what He gave them as a whole. Catholicism has practically identified the Church with the Kingdom of God, and explained the fact that it is so far from the ideal by the doctrine of the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant. Luther characteristically laid the whole stress on the sentence: "The Kingdom of God is within you," thinking above all of the redemption of the individual soul. But some of his writings, *e.g.*, "the German Mass," make it clear that he had wrestled with the thought of how far it could be realised in the communion of the faithful—the invisible Church—for example, in the nucleus of a circle of earnest Christians (3). Eventually, however, he came to the conclusion that it could not come till "the End." His eschatological attitude was so marked, that in the end the idea of the Kingdom of God became absorbed in it, and so lost its power in Lutheranism. Calvin, on the other hand, influenced by his Old Testament ideas, em-

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phasised the conception of the Kingdom as something to be realised in this world—as the goal of man's collective effort towards sanctification. In Geneva he attempted to realise a theocracy. As a result, this conception has played a much more important part in Calvinism, although, indeed, it remained for centuries coupled with the idea of the Church. In the religious struggles in England, for example, the Calvinists claimed its sanction for the most varied forms of Church government. But in so far as their eschatological ideas took fantastic, apocalyptic forms, Calvinism exerted, not as in Lutheranism a Quietist, but an extremely Activist, influence. The idea of the Kingdom has in Calvinism always been most active, and is becoming ever more so, in the evolutionist form which has its roots in Calvin's conception of sanctification. Thus it is just in this central thought that the contrast between the two Churches has again been sharpened, owing to the fact that the extreme forms became general: in Lutheranism the individualistic and eschatological; in Calvinism the collectivist and evolutionist. Finally, we see here, too, the effect of the fact, already hinted at, that in Lutheranism it was the idea of personality; in Calvinism that

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of community; which carried the day. For a Kingdom of God which is not to be realised till the end of the world—for many of us moderns a very distant time—has none of the influence of a community idea in restraining an ever extremier individualism. That is all the more fatal now that the individualist era is coming to a close, and the fact that the practical conception of the Kingdom of God has in the last few decades won ever-increasing importance emphasises this. In face of it Lutheranism is in some embarrassment, for it can effect nothing in the present with its eschatological view of the Kingdom, which is, in fact, a retarding element. The result is, that Calvinism is getting the upper hand. It sets its ideal of the Kingdom in the midst of present-day problems, and seeks through it a solution of social and international questions. But thereby it exposes itself to the opposite danger to that which threatens Lutheranism. Whereas the latter risks losing touch with progress by leaving the world to its fate and keeping pure the “heritage of the Reformation,” the former almost sacrifices Christianity to the world out of fear of losing its influence over the latter. Similarly, with the two basic religious principles,

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justification and sanctification ; while Lutheranism emphasises that there can be no new order in politics or economics without a change of heart, and in directing all its attention to this, never gets to any new order, Calvinism is in danger of simply assuming a change of heart, and going on to reform politics and economics before the new spirit is born, which alone can live up to the reforms.

All this has, I hope, made clear the necessity of a synthesis of Lutheranism and Calvinism, which also is pointed to by the whole development of the Reformation. Both represent valuable interdependent elements whose separation is one reason for the ineffectiveness of Christianity. And so if R. H. Wallau (4) is right in saying that a general increasing " Calvinisation " of Lutheranism is to be observed, we can only regret it if a corresponding " Lutherisation " of Calvinism is not accompanying it. This is possible, as well as necessary, as Stockholm has shown. There, in spite of repeated conflicts between the two persuasions, above all in the decisive question of the interpretation of the Kingdom of God, a Scandinavian bishop confessed that he had become a better Lutheran through Anglo-Saxon, *i.e.*, Calvinist, influence,

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and the Bishop of Winchester expressed his gratitude for the influence of German Lutherans, which had prevented the Council losing the very ground under its feet. The cautious, restraining influence of Lutheranism is, therefore, just as valuable and necessary as the Calvinist spirit of action. Protestantism can only attain to the realisation of its own true nature, and thus to the fulfilment of its mission, when Lutheranism and Calvinism co-operate. That alone is the way to true unity in the Church of Christ.

Having compared Calvinism and Lutheranism, we must now proceed to explain why Calvinism was the form of Protestantism which prevailed in England. To this end it might be helpful to point out some main features of the English national character, for the practical and political mind of Calvin is much more akin to the English than that of Luther. On the other hand, the English mind, while accepting Calvinism, has so altered it that almost a third form of Protestantism was created : Puritanism. This we have to bear in mind, if we are to understand English Protestantism.

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3. *The English National Character and English Christianity*

The English character is not easy to describe, for it is by no means homogeneous. *Dolus est in generalibus!* We must, therefore, realise that there are many exceptions from the general type, and yet, there is such a thing as a type. It seems to me that there are two very specific types of Englishmen: the ruler and the business man. Let us try to characterise them. In general, we Germans think of the English as business men, but that is by no means the predominant type—important as the commercial instinct of the Englishman is. It is rather a sort of “ruler” type, which is, no doubt, one reason why the English are so often compared to the Romans. The Britisher is not only in fact the ruler of the whole world—at least he was until the war—but he has something imposing and distinguished in his whole manner, a something which we find in all classes of the people. The Englishman’s self-possession and self-reliance goes hand in hand with his instinct for independence and freedom. He knows what is due to him. Another factor is his quiet temper. All that works together. It is, too,

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the deepest root of English democracy. The Englishman is a born ruler, over himself, over his country, as conqueror and colonist, as trader and as bishop. The most likeable of these figures is doubtless that of the true bishop, who combines the most valuable characteristics of the aristocrat with those of the sincere Christian. Especially in the movement with which this book deals, this type is often met with. And when the element of active, sympathetic Christian love becomes predominant in such a nature, then that type of evangelist and missionary is born which appeared in earliest Saxon times in the apostles of Central Europe, and again in these days of post-war distress has come especially near to us in the shape of the tirelessly active Quakers. Here, indeed, the element of mastery is completely transformed into that of service; but it is the same trait at bottom: indeed, with all their humility, the Quakers of the relief work clearly revealed their unshakable reliance on the individual personality. We are fully justified in thus placing the Anglican bishop and the most radical of Nonconformists side by side, for Anglicanism and Puritanism are equally genuine English phenomena. The Englishman's marked national feeling is as much

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the collective expression of this typical trait as his strong sense of Church fellowship. Even the working-man displays a consciousness not only of his nationality, but also of his personal worth. His ideal too is the gentleman, an ideal to which Count Coudenhove-Kalergi has recently attributed a great importance for the making of the coming "European," and which, indeed, has already had a considerable influence on the Continent.

Thus far I have tried to show the presence of one basic feature in all the individual types—nobleman and bishop, colonist, trader and missionary, and finally the working-man. There is another type to be mentioned, of unshakable solidity, that of the middle class. It combines in itself all the bourgeois virtues, respectability, the sense of duty, cleanliness, family affection. Hard work, in the German sense, seems somewhat lacking, but that may be explained by the Englishman's quiet ways. He takes things easily in work and play. His bodily recreation, therefore, consists mainly of games, whereas in Germany and America individual record-breaking is the aim. On the other hand, he is more inclined to betting than we. He thinks independently, but his knowledge is often frag-

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mentary. He does not bother to know the exact geographical situation of all places in the world : if he books his ticket he is sure of getting there, and that is enough for him. Nor does he try to learn the language of the countries he goes to, for there will always be somebody who knows English, and you cannot learn to speak a foreign language without making sometimes a fool of yourself, which an Englishman detests. On Sundays he goes to church twice, but on week-days he may manage his business along different lines. This is not as if English Christianity were—as others sometimes think—hypocritical, but because the Englishman has managed to shape his belief so as to conform with his principles of practical life. It is this essentially practical mind which expresses itself in the Englishman's genius for compromise, a gift which made him so good a politician. It is this, also, which made the Anglican Church what it is, a compromise between Catholicism and Protestantism (see below).

This modest attempt to work out the main types of English character may be followed and supplemented by a short comparison with the German character. Generalisations, such as “ deep ” and “ superficial,” bring us no further ;

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we must get rid once for all of all such catch-words. No one would think of continually repeating another's praise of himself; then why should a nation? If it does, it will often have cause for shame. The Englishman's mode of thought is not superficial, but it proceeds on a basis of practical common sense—that of the German on a basis of "pure reason." No one will deny that the German has a philosophic vein, but for that reason to condemn all less philosophical nations is more than naïve. Every mode of thought has its advantages and disadvantages. How complicated and incomprehensible our German way of expressing ourselves often is, while the Englishman's arguments are clear and simple. His common-sense logic is not, indeed, Hegelian, but it is a question which of them is more convincing. It is true that the English love of comfort, expressed in a thousand details of everyday life, reacts disadvantageously on thought—so much so that an Englishman once complained to me of the "intellectual laziness" of his countrymen—but that is partly due to the greater intellectual simplicity which makes many of our problems no problems at all to an Englishman. How often have Germans in England had the experi-

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ence of not being understood in discussion, and how often, on the other hand, have they been surprised to find that discussions in England really lead to practical conclusions. That fruitless wrestling with problems which we know so well, especially recently in the Youth Movement, is scarcely to be found in England, perhaps among some people at Oxford and Cambridge. Young Englishmen, on the other hand, who have lived for some time in German Youth Movement circles, have been known gradually to win a deep understanding of our "Problematik." Many a German in England, too, has found that English simplicity—in the best Bible sense of the word—has freed him from a desperate weight of spiritual indecision. The gaps in English-school learning, compared with the German, are often compensated for by a better education of the character; and it would be quite mistaken to make an absolute measure of value of the specifically German intellectual quality. As far as will-power is concerned, the Englishman is undoubtedly superior to us; that is closely connected with his love for the Old Testament and his strict morality. England, the home of Puritanism! It is only a short time ago that Sunday was observed with

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a strictness which we can hardly imagine. And in spite of all that Mark Rutherford rightly says of the decay of Puritanism, the Englishman's moral feeling will never allow him to depart in the government of public life from the norms of the moral law. Just as in imperial Rome the lowering of public morals produced the Stoic reaction, so in England it produces a movement like Copec. On the other hand, the foreigner carries away the decided impression that in England public morals are still higher than elsewhere. The immoral advertisements, and obscene literature, so prevalent on the Continent, are not found in England to that extent, or at any rate, dare not show themselves so openly ; and that is very characteristic.

Closely connected with the emphasis laid on will-power, is the Englishman's activity, which so sharply contrasts with our philosophising passivity. The latter results, of course, partly from the fact that our thinking makes us more aware of obstacles, but perhaps that only proves the disadvantage of too much thinking. The Englishman acts more with practical and useful aims in view than we, but again it would be wrong to dismiss this with the catchword "utilitarian." The English

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principle, "Nothing has any value unless it leads to action," is without doubt worth a great deal, and corresponds to a deep longing in the heart of the German people. Practical Christianity of the English kind is recognised by all Christians as right and good. It is high praise when Baumgarten says that every strong religious tendency in England shows a social infusion and a social urge (5). Bound up with that again is a decidedly positive attitude to life, which in Germany is all too often lightly dismissed with the catchword "optimism," especially since pessimism has become fashionable. But pessimism may just as well be condemned as doubt and unbelief, and optimism praised as faith. We Germans are in danger of making a virtue of need with our pessimism, which does not, of course, mean that I am blind to the dangers of undiluted optimism. But does not the Englishman's common sense save him from any superficial, fanatical optimism? The whole of history surely proves that the Englishman is the last to lose his sense of the facts. At the same time, there is the strange fact that the Englishman is inclined to be romantic and sentimental! One sign of this is the constant recurrence of ritualistic elements in the Church

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of England. Candles, incense, splendid vestments, all make a deep impression on him ; so do old-fashioned ceremonies at Court, or, *e.g.*, at Oxford. The sentimental side of his nature is not so strong as his will, but it is stronger than we are apt to think. Indeed, the more he strives to avoid being sentimental the plainer becomes his disposition to sentiment. That is the source of much joking in England itself. What leads us astray here is the remarkable fact that the Englishman, who finds action so easy, finds words so difficult. And yet few nations can equal the flower of English lyrical poetry. An Englishwoman who was saturated with it once told me that she was absolutely unable to say farewell in words which expressed her heartfelt feelings ; at the decisive moment she was as if dumb. That is a national failing. I believe it is one of the most important explanations of the fact that the English seldom play or sing, and yet listen to music with so much pleasure. We Germans are slow to act but quick to speak, quick above all to express our feelings in song. And how the English love our folk-songs ; many of them are included in their song-books. Yet they themselves sing little—and then they prefer comic songs, which

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hide their real feelings. But another factor is involved here, viz., the sobering, deadening influence of Puritanism ; that is shown by the fact that the sixteenth century, for example, had wonderful folk-songs in plenty, which are just being rediscovered. And who would not think of Shakespeare ? And how deep the modern Englishman's feeling for art can be we see in a man like John Ruskin. Thus we find the roots of both High Anglicanism and Puritanism in the English national character not very far from each other.

So far, we have tried to lay the foundation for an understanding of English Christianity by realising its national and racial, as well as its religious roots. We may now proceed to trace the reasons why social Christianity has its deepest root in England. As I think that the reasons are of a double nature, historic and systematic, let us find out whether the Christian Social Movement grew naturally out of the course of English Church history, and whether its main thoughts are representing the basic elements of English Christianity.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

1. *The Divisions of the English Churches and the Efforts toward Reunion*

THERE is no European country in which there is a greater variety of different denominations than England. To understand this fact as well as the nature of the different denominations seems to me quite impossible without an adequate knowledge of the English Reformation. For it is since the Reformation that the unity of Western Christianity has been destroyed. But why is it that in England the result has not been—as on the Continent—one great division between the Roman Church and the Protestant Church, which is either Lutheran or Calvinist in different countries in such a dominating form that a few small sects do not matter at all, but that we find nowadays half the English population belonging to the Anglican Church and the other half belonging to a

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number of very important Protestant Churches of quite a definite character as well as—although only a small group—to the Roman Church? It is because the English Reformation was something quite unique, unparalleled in the whole history of the Reformation. When I first came to Oxford I had the strong impression that, as this town, together with Cambridge, is the heart of English Culture, England had no Reformation at all. But when I got to know Quakerism I realised that the Reformation has gone in England further than anywhere else. How is this riddle to be solved?

Various research work on English Church history has revealed to me—even since this book has been published in its German form—that Continental historiography has made a great mistake in describing the history of the English Reformation within a scheme which was entirely formed according to the course of events on the Continent. For, because of that, we could not tell much of Reformation in England until 1555, when with the Religious Peace of Augsburg the history of the German Reformation ended. Consequently, the great epoch of the real Reformation in England—c. 1560-1650—could only be described under the head-

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ing of "Counter-Reformation," which made us regard the defeat of the Armada as the greatest event and, as then England defeated Spain, the leading Catholic power, it appeared to us as a great Protestant country. Thus we entirely overlooked the fact that the Reformation has in the "Church of England" not gone as far as in our churches, while in the extreme forms of Dissent it has gone farther. A radical break between Catholicism and Protestantism, as on the Continent—especially in Germany, Switzerland, Holland and Scandinavia—was only possible where a radical movement swept over the whole country. But where innate conservatism went the way of one small reform after the other, it must necessarily again and again reach stages at which some are satisfied so far, while others want to go farther. Consequently, it was very likely that at each of such stages a new denomination would split off, so that in the end one might have all sorts of denominational forms, from radical Catholicism to radical Protestantism, without a definite inclination of the whole country towards either Catholicism or Protestantism. That is exactly what happened in England, and that is how the present form of its Church life came into existence.

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A new understanding then of the history of the English Reformation will enable us to understand how the divisions of the English Churches came about.

The History of the Reformation began in England. For it was there—in the fourteenth century—that the great Oxford schoolmen, Duns Scotus and William Occam caused the decline of mediæval theology, and that the Merton man, Thomas of Bradwardin (†1349), the “Doctor Profundus,” began the great Augustinian Reform of theology, which was continued by Wyclif, Wesel, Wessel, Hus, and completed by Luther and Calvin (6). It was also there that a national opposition against papal supremacy first arose—for the Avignonese captivity of the Pope through the French King did not spring from such a principal opposition against the papacy as John Wyclif (†1384), brought forward on the ground of the Bible and Bradwardin’s theology. But, strangely enough, that line was not taken up in England, but in Bohemia by Hus, while the Lollards, the followers of Wyclif in his own country, were suppressed. The attempts to reform the Church were in the fifteenth century made on the Continent by the great Councils of Reform,

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and it was also here that the movement for Reformation reached its culmination points in Luther and Calvin, who brought not only an Augustinian but a Pauline reformation of theology, which led to the entire rejection of the Catholic elements of Christianity in favour of its Protestant elements. Thus the radical break of the Continental churches came about chiefly in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Meanwhile, all fundamental opposition against Catholicism was still rejected in England, while the old opposition against papal supremacy led Henry VIII, on occasion of a personal conflict with the Pope, to a break with Rome. Thus the Catholic Church of England, under the supremacy of the King, was established, and the attempts of a small group of scholars and churchmen, who had been influenced by the Continental Reformation to transform it into a Protestant Church were, on the whole, futile. Although they seemed to succeed under the reign of the boy, Edward VI, their hopes were in vain, for a Catholic reaction under Queen Mary suffocated all reforms in blood, and Queen Elizabeth then decided to take up a *via media*, which led to the final establishment of the Anglican Church as a

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“ reformed Catholic ” Church, as I would call it (6). This was the end of the official Reformation of the Church of England.

But there now arose a Protestant reaction against this “ Quasi-Reformation ”—as H. W. Clark calls it (7)—on the part of the radical elements within the Established Church, many of them influenced by contact with Calvinism in Holland and at Geneva, where a number of them had fled from Mary’s persecution. This Evangelical Movement—which only in the ’sixties began to win popular sympathies—was then only of a secondary nature, for it followed the official Reformation as a reaction, while on the Continent—most of all in Germany—it had been the first thing which was only followed by the official Reformation which, with its organising efforts, had rather a reactionary influence. But even now the Evangelical Movement in England was not of the same radical power as it had been on the Continent, for such essential doctrines as “ justification by faith and by grace alone ” (*sola fide et sola gratia*)—as even Bradwardin had already accentuated two hundred years ago—which alone can strike at the root of Catholicism, played no vital part in it. The political and

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practical mind of the English was chiefly concerned with the forms of church service and church government and with Christian morals, and only gradually came down to the most fundamental religious principles. Thus, without disregarding all the fluctuations of actual and detailed history, we may say that the Evangelical Movement of the English Reformation was a reaction against the incomplete Reformation of the Established Church, which took place in four chief parts, each of which created one or more different denominations or an essential feature of English Christianity respectively. The reaction against Catholic forms of divine service and worldly morals resulted in Puritanism, which did not form a special denomination as such, but rather became the most essential feature of English Nonconformity; the reaction against Catholic forms of church organisation took two different forms: as reaction against Episcopalianism it created Presbyterianism; as reaction against Establishment it created Independency or Congregationalism; the reaction against Catholic sacramentalism created the Baptists; only at last came the reaction against Catholic doctrine—including consequently all

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the other elements of Catholicism—which led to Quakerism.

Thus, owing to the fact that the Established Church stood for uniformity in its reformed Catholic form, the result of the English Reformation was not only the division of the English Church into Catholic Anglicanism (which is not the same as Anglo-Catholicism (8), and Protestant Nonconformity, but also a division of the latter into several big churches, which, among themselves, because of certain divergences of opinion, again divided into different sects. But those, as well as a number of smaller sects, we need not mention here. It is far more important to realise that Roman Catholicism had not entirely been abolished in England, so that the Roman Church in England formed another denomination which, after attainment of complete toleration, was reorganised in the last century. Moreover, the division of the English Church did not end with the Reformation.

As a reaction against the general spiritual deadness of the eighteenth century there arose within the Established Church a revival of those elements which had not been driven out by the pressure of uniformity. This movement,

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known as the Evangelical Revival, had been influenced by the German reactionary movement against the deadening influence of Orthodoxy, generally called Pietism, through its branch founded by Count Zinzendorf, which is known in England as Moravianism. But again the Anglican Church refused to sympathise with such Continental evangelical influences and stood to its Catholic tradition. Thus the most active part of the movement was forced out of it, and John Wesley had to organise Methodism as an independent denomination, in which, through the influence of Whitefield, Calvinist elements again became of greatest importance. This was the last formed of the great Nonconformist denominations, which again formed several different church sects.

Yet, in spite of this, the Evangelical influence did not die out in the Church of England, but rather led to the affirmation of the right of Protestantism within the Anglican Church, yea, the Low Church Party claimed that the Established Church was essentially Protestant. This was only the result of the strong influence which the Evangelical Revival had upon all the English churches—for it even inspired Quakers

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with Lutheran and Calvinist ideas. But the true nature of Anglicanism necessarily led to a Catholic reaction, which set in with the High Church Oxford Movement in 1833. The members of both these parties are now generally called Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics. Finally, we must mention a third tendency, the Broad Church Movement, trying to reconcile theology with modern thought, which has created three Church parties: Liberal Anglo-Catholicism, Liberal Evangelicalism and, the extremist, Modernism. The middle party between Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals is now the group of Central Churchmen.

Thus there have arisen in the course of English Church History a vast number of separate churches, and within the Established Church itself a number of parties, so that almost every shade of belief between Catholicism and Protestantism is represented. They could be grouped as follows: Church of England (Anglo-Catholics, Central Churchmen, Evangelicals), Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Quakers. The last-named body, goes of course, beyond the limits of the German evangelical churches, which most resemble the Congregationalists and Pres-

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byterians (and it is in the services of the latter that the German Protestant feels most at home).

Against these divisions there have from the beginning been unifying forces at work which have again and again led to general movements towards reunion. It is very significant that both Luther and Calvin suffered under the thought of the schism in Protestantism, nay, in Christendom as a whole, and each of them independently supported the idea of a Council to help towards reunion. And here it is remarkable that Luther had more a union in practice in mind (*Life and Work*), Calvin more a union in theory (*Faith and Order*), while Calvin was far more practical in his actual endeavours towards union. He never ceased to work for a reconciliation with Luther, while at the same time preserving the strictest unity within his own communion (9). As a result, the idea of reunion has never quite disappeared from Calvinism, and in England it has been particularly alive. Oliver Cromwell was its greatest spokesman. His efforts for a union of all Protestants no doubt originated in political motives, but they developed more and more into the idea of an Œcumenical Council.

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It is particularly noteworthy that he was not alone in this, but enjoyed the support of his Puritan Parliament, a fact which leads Dr Frick (10), who notices it, to the conclusion that he expressed wishes which were general among English Puritans, and he points out how ultimately it was the social doctrines of Calvinism that found expression here.

There can be no doubt that the tendency towards reunion which English Dissenters inherited from Calvinism was still awake, but it remained for centuries without effect, owing to the individualism of the Dissenters and their opposition to the official church. As the first-named hindrance grew weaker, they began to make efforts first of all to attain unity among themselves, and in the course of the nineteenth century this led to negotiations, then to more and more co-operation of the Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists and other Free Churches, and to the founding of the National Free Church Council (11), and later of the Federal Council of the Free Churches. Thus by the end of the nineteenth century the English Free Churches were in closer contact than had ever been thought of before.

A still stronger tendency towards *reunion*

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had been active in the Anglican Church, only from the beginning a more exclusive one, for it stood for uniformity. Yet it was just this factor, as we have seen, which brought about divisions, for the insistence on uniformity meant the violation of all other beliefs. On the other hand, by excluding the chief elements of discord, the Church of England succeeded in retaining unity within itself, corresponding to its ideal, which, denying Luther's doctrine of the Invisible Church, and rejecting the Presbyterianism of the Calvinists and the Independency of the Puritans, demanded unity of doctrine, organisation, and sacraments (12). Political reasons, too, were not without influence, for many a ruler since Constantine has believed a united national church to be an essential condition of national unity, and even the Puritan Cromwell allowed himself to be influenced by political motives. But beyond the limits of internal unity Anglicanism, too, showed a tendency to reunion with other churches, in this case with the Catholic churches, above all with Rome. It began in the sixteenth century ; in the seventeenth, Archbishop Laud was its chief protagonist ; at the beginning of the eighteenth century it was taken up again

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by the then Archbishop of Canterbury; and finally, in the nineteenth century, the High Church Movement developed so strong a tendency towards Roman Catholicism that Pope Leo XIII addressed a Bull to English Christians summoning them to return to the Roman Church. But that very action showed how little hope there was then for a Reunion with Rome, for the Anglicans would not give up the independence of their national church at any price; even Lord Halifax, the strongest supporter of those Anglican tendencies, confessed that (13).

But "where sin abounded, grace did much more abound" (Rom. v. 20): The terrible experiences of the late war revealed to the thoughtful Christians in England—as everywhere—what was the inevitable result of the divisions of the Christian Church as preventing it from preaching the gospel of the brotherhood of men effectually. And, consequently, there arose a movement for Church Reunion unparalleled in the history of the Christian Church (14). In England this was especially strong, yea, it cannot be denied that the Anglican Church took a leading part in it as "bridge-church," its Evangelical wing trying

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to combine with the Free Churches, and its Anglo-Catholic wing negotiating with the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. This reveals the importance of its own unity, which is strongly represented by the Lambeth Conferences. The sixth Lambeth Conference of 1920 issued that famous "Appeal to all Christian People," which found an extraordinary response, not only in England but all over the world. It strengthened all existing efforts towards Reunion. It fostered the understanding between the Anglican Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church, which led to the official recognition of the validity of the Anglican Orders by the latter in 1922. It was in 1921 that Lord Halifax could take up again his efforts for an understanding with Rome, and he succeeded in starting a series of conversations between a number of Anglicans and a number of Roman Catholics at Malines (1921-1925), which had the support of the then Archbishop of Canterbury. But it was most important for English Christianity that the efforts towards "Home Reunion," which since the Lambeth Conference of 1888 had been going on, found a new encouragement. A series of Conferences began to be held at

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Lambeth Palace between leaders officially appointed by the Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches and a number of English Bishops, which led to a statement of agreement and disagreement on crucial points in 1922, and were followed by further Conferences. Also Sir Henry Lunn could take up his private attempts to that end, and the well-known Conference of Mürren was held in September 1923, where Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Methodists seriously considered "The Church and the Social Problems." Here we see already that there is a strong affinity between Church Reunion and a new social Christianity. The Copec Conference then gave an overwhelming proof to this.

2. *Decay and Revival of a Social Christianity in England*

The Reformation, though in the religious sphere a revolution of a significance hardly to be exaggerated, does not seem, at least at first sight, to have caused a social revolution of anything like the same importance. That seems rather strange, considering the fact that even in Wyclif's days the religious revolt against

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the authority of Rome was accompanied by similar movements on the political and social plane, and that we hear of a peasants' insurrection in those days as well as in the Germany of Luther. Yet, what makes Luther rather unpopular with modern Socialists is just the fact that he so strongly opposed this attempt at a social revolution, and that the social ethics he expounded was thoroughly patriarchal and conservative. Although there is, as Troeltsch has shown us (15), in Christianity a revolutionary as well as a conservative element, Luther, at any rate from the social point of view, knew nothing of the former. That is one of the reasons why Troeltsch suggested that the Reformation did not make such a tremendous difference after all, and that the Middle Ages really ended only with the rise of modern civilisation in the eighteenth century.

This view seems to be confirmed as regards England by one of the most remarkable books which we owe to the strong stimulus to new and penetrating research work exercised by the experiences of the war and post-war time, Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (16). For here we are taught with ample evidence that not only the social teaching of

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the schoolmen was on the whole simply rehearsed by the Continental Reformers, as well as by Anglican and Puritan Divines, but that even the Canon Law retained its old authority, at least so far as the Church of England is concerned.

And, yet, this is not the whole truth. For Tawney shows as clearly that, if the Reformation has not initiated a social revolution it has at least done very much to prepare the minds of men for it. Yea, I doubt whether the development and growth of the modern commercial civilisation would at all have been possible without this influence. For the decisive feature of Calvin's social teaching is not that he hedged round his permission of a certain kind of "usury" a strong discipline, but the revolutionary fact that he did permit interest, and thus sanction capitalist enterprise. Or is it not even true to say that just that combination of a rigid discipline with a certain economic freedom was apt to breed that unique type of a respectable, industrious and sober business man, who was to create that civilisation? Moreover, remembering the essential difference between Calvinism and Lutheranism expounded in Chapter I, we can well understand that the

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essentially eschatological teaching of the latter was apt to lead to social indifference, or at least resignation, while the Activist theology of Calvinism could not content itself with a merely negative attitude, such as discipline. It is this theological or, at bottom, religious difference, and not so much the new interpretation of worldly business as a divine calling—for this was common to both—which must to a considerable extent be held responsible for the fact that after the Reformation the commercial leadership of Europe passed from the now Lutheran towns of the Hanseatic League to the Calvinist Netherlands, and finally to the commercial classes of England who, with Puritanism had a religion which pressed the Activist tendencies of Calvinism, as well as the Protestant principle of freedom, to such an extreme that it has—at least in its later form—rightly been described as a trade religion. Thus, while frankly admitting the importance of the economic change which was brought about by the great discoveries and the tremendous influence of the philosophic development from the Renaissance to the days of enlightenment, we find that the causal connection, first established by Max Weber, between the spirit of capitalism

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—*i.e.*, the capitalist mentality of the bourgeoisie—and Protestant, or rather Calvinist-Puritan, ethics, holds still good, though it has been overstated (17).

In realising this, we must not overlook the extraordinary influence which Christianity by means of Puritanism exercised towards establishing sound economic practices and a business morality which till to-day is a feature of English business life, while in Germany conservative and reactionary Lutheranism lost every influence whatever upon the commercial development, and thus atheist and materialist principles and Shylock practices had free play. So far, Puritanism may be said to have really been a Social Christianity, while the scholastic social ethics of Anglicanism, and even the mercantilism of Archbishop Laud, only gave a stimulus to the forces of emancipation. Yet even the influence of Puritanism grew weaker and weaker, since its individualist tendencies were so greatly strengthened by the development of modern rationalist thinking that discipline in any social sense, or considerations of a social responsibility lost its meaning. Thus the philosophy of *laissez-faire* took its firm hold of the minds of Englishmen just at the time

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of the Industrial Revolution, when there was nothing more urgently needed than a clear social teaching of the Church; not, indeed, a mere repetition of old doctrines, but a living reinterpretation of its sound principles.

And, yet, in those darkest times, a *Revival of a Social Christianity* began, and, though very slowly and modestly, it grew steadily, and, in the long run, successfully. The Pietist and Methodist Revival, brought forth as a reaction against dead orthodoxy and cold rationalism, though mainly concerned with personal religion and conservative in its political attitude, had social consequences of great importance. In Germany, however, it led only to missionary enterprise and charitable work, through which no doubt much good was done, but no influence was exercised upon the social development. But in England it had a very remarkable influence upon the proletariat, just then *in statu nascendi* and, moreover, inspired individual Christians to raise their voice to awaken public opinion to its social responsibility, and to do as much as they could towards a betterment of human society.

John Wesley, inspired for a practical and social Christianity through the "Holy Club"

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of his Oxford undergraduate days, has done the greatest thing for the social development of his country which, to my mind, is one of the main causes of the fact, that, even to-day, England does not know a real class-war. He lived and worked among the common people, kindled their religious enthusiasm, educated them generally and gave them leaders of their own as lay preachers destined to become their political leaders later on. The early Methodist Church being a kind of combination of the best elements of Anglicanism and Nonconformity, and the most influential church during the decisive decades of the Industrial Revolution has laid the foundations—spiritually and constitutionally—of the English Labour Movement which, consequently, up to this day has, when compared with its equivalent on the Continent, still a fairly obvious Christian attitude.

But, fortunately, the great Revival swayed over all the denominations of the English Church, inspiring individual men with Christian social enthusiasm. The Congregationalist, John Howard, started in the 'seventies his great campaign for prison reform (18). In 1779, the first of the famous Quaker Boarding-schools was founded at Ackworth, and it was a Quaker,

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together with a Methodist, who started the first successful Adult School in Nottingham, in 1798. When the Evangelical William Wilberforce in the 'eighties began his great work for the abolition of the Slave Trade, he continued the work of the great American Quaker, John Woolman, and was very considerably backed by members of the Society of Friends. It was also the Quakers, Elizabeth Fry, William Allen, and others, who restarted Howard's work for prison reform after it had been dropped. In 1792 the Baptist, William Carey, began his great work for the Foreign Mission, which was to become such a prominent feature of Christian social activity (in the wider sense of the word) during the nineteenth century.

Apart from these and a few other individual Christians, however, the churches, as such, were not awake to their social responsibility, least of all the Church of England, before the middle of the nineteenth century, nor was there even in the social activities of the Methodists and Quakers anything like a social Gospel as a general background. There was also nothing like a Christian public opinion awake to its social duties. On the contrary, in the first half of the nineteenth century the condition

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of the working-classes in England had become more miserable than at any time before or since. After the Napoleonic wars unemployment was rife, wages were low, prices high, and the population increasing rapidly. Yet the manufacturing and landowning classes were heaping riches on riches, and the spiritual leaders of the nation stood aloof, persuaded by the new economic theories of Ricardo and Adam Smith, and by the philosophy of the rationalist and individualist school that the egotism of the individual was bound to lead to the nation's wealth, and that the only sound policy was *laissez-faire*, based upon a blind belief in human progress. The Christian individuals mentioned worked as hard as they could against the symptoms of the national disease, but there was no realisation of the cause of it, not to speak of attempts towards its removal. There was no common Christian testimony for the need of a general and radical renewal of human society. The social implications of the coming of God's Kingdom had not yet dawned upon the Christian mind. And even worse than this: the workers made some attempt to help themselves by forming the Trades Unions but, instead of being backed up

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in this effort by the Churches, their work was boycotted by them. The clergy were worldly, and driven by low incomes to pander to the rich merchant and land-owning classes. However, had it not been for the work of the Christian Social Reformers and the strengthening influence of Methodism, they might have despaired. Indeed, they were very near it after the breakdown of Owen's National Consolidated Union, and finally of Chartism in 1848. It was at this critical moment that the English Churches began to awake to their social duty, that the social Gospel was born, and a movement was set on foot which, though weakened several times and restrengthened and carried on under different names, has not stopped unto this day.

3. Origin and Development of the Christian Social Movement

The merit of having originated the SOCIAL GOSPEL rests with the so-called "Christian Socialists" (19). Frederick Denison Maurice, an eminent theological thinker of the enlightened group of Broad Churchmen, first gave to the old doctrine of the Kingdom of Christ a new meaning, and thus inspired a group of noble young men, amongst whom were John Malcolm

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Ludlow, a lawyer and economist, who had been brought up in France and learnt there to understand the great message of Socialism, and Charles Kingsley, preacher and poet, whose sensitive soul had been deeply impressed since the days of his boyhood by the terrible suffering of the poorer classes. It was Ludlow, as Canon Raven has shown, who not only made the epoch-making discovery that the message of Socialism and that of the Kingdom of Christ ought to be combined, but also did most to put this idea into practice, and thus stood behind the movement which, I think, it is only fair to say, originated from the combined effort of these three men as the driving force.

It was in these critical days of 1848, when the February Revolution had just broken out in France, and the English working-classes were in such dangerous ferment that much was to be feared from the projected great demonstration of Chartism in London, and even more from its fiasco, that those three men met to decide that something had to be done by Christians to stop the high tide, not by protest but by offering real guidance. Charles Kingsley drew up and published an appeal to the English working men, in which, while energetically

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demanding social reform, he at the same time emphasised that the only way to attain it was by the inward reform of each individual through religion. This was not yet a clear social Gospel, but an obvious attempt to find it. The group around Maurice, which soon came to combine on the foundation of this principle, was sincerely seeking for a solution of the most pressing problem of the day by words and deeds. They started a weekly paper, called *Politics for the People*, which made a considerable impression, though at first it aroused more hostile than friendly reactions. But still, some of the most talented young men from the highest circles joined the group, and failing to impress the workers' leaders, they tried to overcome their distrust by practical work. The young idealists penetrated into the worst of London slums, visited some of the streets systematically, helped wherever they could, and so gradually won the confidence of some of the workers. Not until then did they distribute among them their paper, wanting to show them that it was only their Christianity that impelled them to adopt the workers' cause. Yet, there was still a considerable doubt, as to whether they were not after all in the pay of the 'powers that be,'

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which only began to vanish after their paper was forced to stop publication for lack of funds.

They soon started a new paper called *The Christian Socialist*, thus indicating that they had now a clear insight into the ideal they were aiming at: a combination of Christianity and Socialism, *i.e.*, Socialism no longer a political or economical programme only, but also a demand of Christianity. It was Ludlow who in the first number of the new paper wrote a programmatic article, in which he declared Socialism to be as essential a product of Christianity as Protestantism; it was the great Christian revolution of the nineteenth century. As Christianity was incomplete without Socialism, so Socialism without Christianity could never reach its goal (a truism, by the way, which only now is beginning to dawn upon some of the leading German Socialists). For man is not, as the Chartists maintained, the product of circumstances; circumstances were created by man. The first need, then, was for an inner change in man. Socialism, in common with Christianity, stood for brotherhood, and competition and class-war, selfishness and profit-seeking, were equally foreign to both; but only Christianity could overcome selfish-

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ness. Charles Kingsley declared in a famous sermon, "The Message of the Church to Labouring Men," that the Gospel stood in solidarity with those of the labourers who demanded liberty, equality and brotherhood; but that it interpreted these words in a truer and deeper sense, which the working-man must learn to understand. He also emphasised the social duty of the Church and its ministers: "I assert that the business for which God sends a Christian priest in a Christian nation, is to preach and practise liberty, equality and brotherhood, in the fullest, deepest, widest, simplest meaning of these three great words. If the words of the Lord of all the earth mean anything, they mean this: that all systems of society which favour the accumulation of capital in a few hands—which oust the masses from the soil which their forefathers possessed of old—which reduce them to the level of serfs and day-labourers, living on wages and on alms—which crush them down with debt, or in anywise degrade or enslave them, or deny them a permanent stake in the commonwealth, are contrary to the Kingdom of God which Christ proclaimed, and contrary to the idea of the Church, which witnesses for God's Kingdom

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upon earth, and calls all men and nations to enter into it, and be saved therein, in body, soul and spirit ” (20).

This is the first clear pronouncement of a social Gospel! This discovery, I am sure, marks an epoch in the history of the Christian Church, although for a long time it did, and for some people's blind eyes it still does, not seem so. Surely, since then this great message has never been completely lost, but, though obscured again and again, is becoming in our days of an importance which its first apostles hardly dared to dream of.

Yet this was only one side of the movement's achievements. For Ludlow's practical genius did not rest until he had made some daring experiments. Realising that the chief necessity was to exclude competition and to secure control of the market for producers and consumers alike, he followed the example of French Workers' Associations and of the Co-operative Stores of the Rochdale Pioneers (1844), and got the group to start an Association of Tailors in 1850, an example which already in the same year was followed in many places. In the next year an even greater attempt on these lines was made under his advice by the Amalgamated

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Society of Engineers. It would be very short-sighted, indeed, to conclude from the fact that these first experiments could not stand the united attack of the employers in 1852 and, therefore, collapsed, that they had been made in vain. For nobody would say the same of the work of Count Zeppelin, whose first airship was destroyed at Echterdingen, as to-day an airship bearing his name is crossing the Atlantic. Why should we judge otherwise about Ludlow's experiments, as to-day the Co-operative Movement is showing such a marvellous development ?

But another important work was begun : since it had soon become evident that the new methods could only be successfully carried through if the educational standard of the working-classes was raised, the Christian Socialists founded the Working Men's College in London which still exists to-day, but not without having inspired many other similar experiments.

The greatest achievement of the movement, however, was that it succeeded in awakening public opinion to the scandalous conditions in sweated industries, and of the working-classes' conditions in general. Kingsley's novels did

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much towards that end, while Maurice succeeded in getting outstanding scientists to lecture to the working-men, and influencing a generation of churchmen through his writings. Thus Church and State began to realise their social responsibility, and when this movement died down, it did not mean that it had lived in vain nor that its cause was lost.

Many people might have thought so in the seventies and eighties of last century. To-day we see that this movement was only the first stage of a bigger movement, for which other stages were still to be passed. When we generally speak of this movement as the Christian Social Movement, we do not think of one organisation only, nor is this conception limited by national boundaries. There is a considerable number of national and international movements which sprang up from different roots, and yet are more and more drawn together by realising the identity of their chief aim: a social rebirth of humanity in and through Christianity. It is to the English branches of the movement that we confine ourselves here, but without forgetting that England, no doubt, has played a leading part in its general development.

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It is very interesting to notice that the different English branches of the Christian Social Movement, when they sprang up during the second half of the nineteenth century, or even before, did not all of them from the beginning realise their social function within the Church; indeed, some of them originated with quite a different aim. So it was with the great movement started in 1844 by George Williams, in London, with a Bible Class for young men. For the great aim of the Y.M.C.A., to win young men for Christ, meant originally nothing else but the conversion of the individual. Only gradually the obligation was felt to care not only for the young workingmen's souls, but also for their social environment. Thus problems of housing, drink, gambling, wages, employment, began to have for them a more than individualist meaning, and Social Service became an essential feature of the movement. Very much the same thing happened to its sister movement, the Y.W.C.A., founded about ten years later. And very obvious, too, is the analogy of the development of the similar movement among the undergraduates of the Universities, which originated as a result of Moody and Sankey's Mission

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in the 'seventies, a fact which clearly indicates its evangelistic character. Surely, the central aim of the *Student Christian Movement*, to win students for Christ, is still regarded as vital as is the parallel aim of the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A., but since it first began to realise its duty to Social Service in 1903—ten years after its formal constitution—the wider implications of it have brought the burning problems of to-day to the centre of its activities. And it is just the combination of the Christian and the Social Ideal which justifies us in regarding these three movements as branches of the general Christian Social Movement (21).

Yet there are three other movements which had a more definite social aim from the beginning, though lacking a general conception of society as implied by Christianity.

The *Adult School Movement* had its first beginnings, as we have seen, already during the last decade of the eighteenth century. But it became a definite movement among working-men and members of the intellectual classes, with the aim of mutual education towards service for the Kingdom of God, only through the work of the Quakers, Joseph Sturge and William White, in Birmingham, since 1845. The

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influence it has had since in bringing members of the different classes of society together in fellowship is to be regarded as an important factor in the social development of England. But in the course of time it acquired a very significant social attitude, which gave a stimulus to many a social reform, the most striking example of which is the marvellous work done by the Quaker, George Cadbury, who, according to his explicit statement, owes the inspiration to his social reform work to the Adult School Movement. A fact, emphasised by this movement's historian, Currie Martin, but generally overlooked, is its share in the origin of another branch of the Christian Social Movement, the importance of which seems to me to be underestimated by many people in England: the *Brotherhood Movement*. Founded by the Congregationalist, John Blackham, in 1875, under the impression of the great success of a Moody Mission in Birmingham, which suggested to him the possibility of enlarging his Adult School work in West Bromwich, so as to win the masses of labouring men for Christ and His Kingdom, it grew out of its P.S.A. infancy to a big movement chiefly among working-men but including members of all classes of society

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which, though shaken in quantity by the war, yet was improved in quality by it. During the last years it began to influence public opinion towards international and industrial peace in the name of Christ and His Kingdom, and thus rightly deserves to be enrolled as a branch of the great movement, especially considering the educative influence it had since its beginning upon many working-men, which had dropped into a non-Christian attitude towards life (22). Finally, without claiming to have mentioned every movement with similar ideals, I must refer to the *Settlements Movement* which, founded by Canon Barnett in 1873, has done a comparatively quiet work and yet set a great example, which has not failed to attract many Christians, leading them the brotherly way of living among the poor. Although here the Christian character of the work is mostly concealed or, at any rate, not particularly emphasised, in order to avoid disturbance of many a proletarian mind, bewildered by the apparent failure of the Churches to stand for social justice, the Christian faith clearly works in the background as its driving force, and has made itself felt in many individual cases, as well as in the general attitude of the movement. Moreover, it has

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given much inspiration to the Wesleyan Missions and to the work of the so-called "Slum Priests" of the Anglo-Catholic Movement.

It is by no means easy to trace in all these movements the origin of their awakening to the social Gospel and service to its deepest spiritual roots in the life of late nineteenth-century England. But since it is apparent that the ever-growing consciousness of the social implications of Christianity owes for its more general awakening so much to the ardent testimony of the Christian Socialists, it might not be too much to say that it is largely to their merit that those movements have either sprung up or taken over the social message and work. Thus the general Christian Social Movement, of which all these and a considerable number of other and smaller movements form part, may rightly be said to owe its origin mainly to the inspiration and work of the Christian Socialists.

The most striking feature of this movement and common to all its branches—apart from its social Activism—is its *undenominational Christianity*, which originated not from any weakness of faith, but rather from an original inspiration by the simplicity of Christ's Gospel revealed

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afresh in face of the pressing needs of to-day. And what seems to me even more important, is the fact that all the English Churches, though none of them took any official or corporate part in the origin of any of those movements—nor of the social reform work mentioned in the previous chapter—could be a medium of that inspiration for their individual members. That offers a great argument for Christian reunion: all the Churches have direct access to the central truth of Christianity! And a further proof is this: whatever, if any, denominational origin those movements had, they sooner or later became a rallying-ground for co-operation of members of many, if not all, the other denominations. Thus the undenominational Christian Social Movement not only helped almost all the Churches to a renewal of their religious life, but also gave a tremendous impetus to the movement for Church Reunion described in the last chapter.

It was at the meeting-point of these two great streams of Christian revival—œcumenical and social—that a new and even greater movement originated, destined, as many hope, to combine all the other movements into a great and powerful stream of Christian life.

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4. *The Copec Movement*

The Christian Social Movement which has its roots in all the movements mentioned and succeeded in bringing together representatives of all of them, for which reason it may truly become a bond of unity between them, the *Copec Movement*, has the two distinct features of universality and intensity: (1) it has combined the ideas of Church Reunion and of social reconstruction; (2) it has set itself the task of deducing the social Gospel from the fundamental principles of Christianity.

It is difficult to describe the process which brought the œcumenical and the Christian social movements into combination, and I cannot try to do that in this limited space. But the main line of development seems to me to have been the following: the first who, so far as I see, combined an ardent desire and work for both Church Reunion and Christian social reform was John Brown Paton, a Congregationalist minister of Nottingham. Inspired by the example of the Inner Mission in Germany, he tried to stimulate a similar work among all the English Churches and, with this "Catholic"—or as we to-day prefer to say, œcumenical—view, he naturally went in for

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Home Reunion (23). It was this twofold work which led Earl Nelson, a lay High Anglican, to a suggestion which, to my mind, is the first clear pronunciation of the idea of Copec. In an article on "Christian Reunion" in the *Contemporary Review* of February 1889, by the latter, we find the following passage: "I would ask, with Dr Paton, of Nottingham, who is earnestly pressing this matter, whether a council could not be formed in every town or district, and, at some future time, a central council, to meet in London, of wise, sound, large-hearted men, chosen by each denomination as their representatives. These should meet regularly in friendly conference, studying earnestly, in the light of the revealed will of God, the intricate problems of society; exploring the accessible, but often remote and concealed, sources of human evil; and then guiding and systematising the various institutions for good, so that they could more effectually forward the common work in a co-ordinate way, and without any jealous interferences with each other, and thus bring, in the different towns or districts where such councils are established, the full power of united Christian effort and example to deal more effectually with our

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many social evils." It is to this passage that an appendix on "Some Aspects of Christian Duty" of *Lux Mundi* refers with these words: "It has been opportunely suggested that the effort to study, 'in the light of the revealed will of God, the intricate problems of society,' might be a common bond between different sections of Christendom, and might promote that unity of God's Church, which is the true condition of effectual social reform" (24). The importance of this appears very clearly if we consider that the editor of *Lux Mundi*, Charles Gore, has become later one of the chief promoters of Copec, and that the contributor of the first essay, Henry Scott Holland (25), started in the same year of Nelson's essay and the publication of *Lux Mundi* a movement which must be regarded as the connecting link between the Christian Socialists' work and Copec.

Early in 1889—so early that Nelson's article cannot be regarded as having given the impetus, though it may have greatly fostered the movement from its beginning—Canon Holland gathered those of his friends around him who, according to a recent statement of Bishop Gore, felt with him that the work of the Christian Socialists ought to be revived. Yet there was

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no organisation to do it, the Guild of St Matthew, which carried on part of their work since 1877, being inadequate for it. After a first successful attempt with some lectures on Christian Economics, therefore, a meeting was called to St Paul's Chapter-house in June of that year, and, under the presidency of Bishop Westcott, the *Christian Social Union* was founded. Its aims were these: (1) to claim for the Christian Law the ultimate authority to rule Christian practice; (2) to study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time; (3) to present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love (26).

It is very significant that this attempt to re-establish the economic authority which Christianity had in the Middle Ages was made by a group of Anglicans who proudly called themselves Catholics. "It was the Tractarian Movement that in its later form combined the 'Catholic Church' of Pusey with the 'Kingdom of Christ' of Maurice, and produced the new Socialism of which Holland was the prophet

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and chief " (27). Therein lay its strength and its limitation. For while they owed their inspiration to a new understanding of the doctrine of Incarnation and the meaning of the Sacrament, they excluded all those from their society who were not members of the Anglican communion. Yet they were large-hearted enough to include members of all parties within the Church of England, and thus showed a spirit of Christian brotherhood which could not for long confine itself to Anglicans. It helped to inspire Free Churchmen to the founding of *Social Service Unions* in their respective churches, a work in which Dr Paton soon took a leading part. His leadership, however, seems to me to show that their origin is at least partly independent of the work of Scott Holland.

The most important feature of these unions was their attempt to think out afresh the social implications of the Gospel. How essential this was appears from a quotation from Tawney's great book, in which he says: "In an age of impersonal finance, world-markets and a capitalist organisation of industry, its (*i.e.*, the Church's) traditional social doctrines had no specific to offer, and were merely repeated, when, in order to be effective, they should

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have been thought out again from the beginning and formulated in new and living terms" (28). This sentence by a Copec man, propounded in a series of Holland Memorial Lectures, states clearly the fundamental principle of the work of the Christian Socialists, of Holland and his movement, and of Copec. It refers to the failure of the Church when facing the rise of our commercial civilisation, and shows as its reason what has been tried to remedy by these great movements which, from the first to the last, more and more clearly realised that the Church's message to the modern world could, and can, only be effective when the social Gospel is carefully thought out, by viewing the present state of society in the light of the fundamental principles of Christianity.

To accomplish this it is absolutely essential that the Church's message should be one, and to attain this nothing else can help but the co-operation, if not the reunion, of all the churches. The realisation of this meant practically the foundation of a new movement through combination of all the Social Service Unions. This came about in 1911, and out of it grew after the war—under the leadership of William Temple, the then Bishop of

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Manchester, Lucy Gardner, Alfred Garvie, William Lofthouse, and others—a united movement, culminating in the “Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship,” or *Copec*, at Birmingham, in April 1924 (29).

What *Copec* has done—a good and faithful work indeed—it is not my job here to relate, nor must I extend the subject of this investigation by showing how its careful and detailed research work helped to prepare the Stockholm Commission Reports. I will only say that it has proved loyal to its antisectarian and unifying message by suspending itself as an organisation when its dream of a representative national *Christian Social Council* was being fulfilled at the end of 1928 and in the beginning of 1929. By this it did not die, but rather came to its greatest significance, about which something will be said in the concluding chapter.

Thus we have seen that English ecclesiastical and social history, with an inner necessity, tended to develop a social Christianity. The clear declaration of all the principles of the Christian Social Movement in the *Copec* Commission Reports gives us now an opportunity to find out whether they represent genuine elements of English Christianity.

CHAPTER IV

THE ROOTS OF THE COPEC IDEAS IN ENGLISH CHRISTIANITY

AFTER having tried in the previous chapter to describe the origin of the Copec Movement in English history out of two main roots, the movement for Church Reunion and the Christian Social Movement, we may now attempt to trace the roots of its ideas in English Christianity.

To achieve this, we must first try to realise the basic elements of English Christianity and then see how far their influence upon Copec is evident. May I say, beforehand, that in speaking of Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, Puritanism, or even of Baptists and Quakerism, we are now no longer concerned with the respective denominations, but rather with spiritual movements, the influence of which is by no means confined to any one denomination, just as there is true Christianity outside the organised churches. If,

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therefore, an Anglo-Catholic or Quaker influence on Copec is stated, such a discovery does not depend on this Anglo-Catholic or that Quaker having made contributions to Copec, but solely on the fact that ideas which are essentially Anglo-Catholic or Quaker are found influencing the development of the Copec Movement or its message.

1. *The Basic Elements of English Christianity*

The greatest significance of the Reformation for the spiritual history of Western Civilisation lies in the fact that it initiated the differentiation of the till then—at least for the West—uniform Catholic Christianity. This process did not begin in 1517, and it is, therefore, wrong to let the period of the Reformation begin then. The Reformation began with those Englishmen who first dared to criticise the development of mediæval thinking, Occam, Bradwardin, Wyclif, and it ended with the formation of a group which pushed the individualist principle to its farthest extreme: Quakerism. It thus began and ended in England, lasted about three centuries, and had

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its culmination points with Luther in Germany, and Calvin (the Frenchman !) in Switzerland. Thus the Reformation was a universally Western process, for which no country can claim any prerogative.

The English Reformation is only a part, though a very important one, of this universal movement, and has its own spiritual roots as well as those which rooted in the Continental Reformation. Those of its own are : (1) the *Lollard Movement*, started by Wyclif, who owed the foundation of his teaching to Bradwardin. This movement brought the Bible to the English people and revived Pauline Augustinism ; (2) the *National Movement*, which resented papal supremacy in England. Out of the latter grew, under certain Continental influences to be mentioned presently, Anglicanism ; out of the former, under other Continental influences, Puritanism (30).

Owing to the peculiar insular character of the English nation none of the elements of the Continental Reformation influencing the English retained its original character, but all were transformed. (1) *Lutheranism* was too typically German to have much influence at all. It certainly offered a justification for the " Reformation " of Henry VIII, with its re-

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volutionary attitude in Church politics, but its theology found little appreciation. Yet, its social conservatism and patriarchalism has at least its parallel in the similar attitude of Anglicanism, if it has not helped to bring it forth. (Perhaps Englishmen were then more in need of being taught conservatism than they are at present.) There is, however, much truth in the statement that the Anglican Church, on the whole, is a better realisation of Luther's ideal than the Lutheran. The religious individualism of Luther and his doctrine of justification seem to have greatly influenced the growth of English Baptists (John Bunyan!) and, by mediation of the German Pietist and Moravian Movements, the development of Methodism and Evangelicalism. (2) *Calvinism* has been transformed into something so uniquely English as Puritanism, which did not find its expression in one particular denomination, but permeated the whole of post-reformation English Christianity, and thus helped to form the character of this nation to such an extent that we Germans still are inclined to think England to be a Protestant country, while, as a matter of fact, which the present Prayer Book crisis clearly enough

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shows, it is just as divided into a Protestant and a Catholic group as all the Western countries. (3) *Anabaptism*, with its religious radicalism and social revolutionarism, for which reason it is very popular among religious Socialists in Germany to-day to study its history, and to appeal to the Anabaptists against Luther's conservatism, exerted a certain influence in England and helped to call forth socially radical sects (Diggers, Levellers, Fifth Monarchy Men) which, however, died out soon after the Restoration. Its influence on English Baptists is very slight. But the Anabaptist's idea of the claim of the Communion of the Saints to bring a new social order into the world, may have helped to make Puritanism more radical and revolutionary, and to bring forth the peculiar Anglo-American interpretation of the Kingdom of God. (4) *Mysticism*, which in Germany could not do more than create some outstanding religious individualists (chiefly Jacob Boehme) helped to bring forth in England such a unique form of, as I believe, Johannine Christianity as Quakerism.

In addition to that, there were two elements influencing the making of post-reformation English Christianity which were also prior to

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the Continental Reformation : (1) *Catholicism* as an ideal, *i.e.*, as conceived by the Early Church Fathers and Augustine, without the specially Roman peculiarities, which was at the back of the mind of great Catholics all through the Middle Ages ; (2) *Humanism* as a movement of new learning, which opened people's eyes to superstitions, and thus helped to the rebirth of the ideal of Catholicism. These two elements must be regarded as fundamental to Anglicanism, the chief spiritual roots of which are then altogether these : Old Catholicism, Humanism, Nationalism and Lutheranism. The Anglican Church must, therefore, be described as "Reformed Catholic," and it is only natural that it should always have in its realm a group urging its Catholic, and another pressing its Protestant, character, as well as a central group emphasising both. Thus the friendly or unfriendly (there is no need for the latter) competitive struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism has, after all, in England a more sympathetic outlook than on the Continent, since the two parties (Roman Catholics and Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals and Free Churchmen) are tied together by the Church of England which, consequently, is a true

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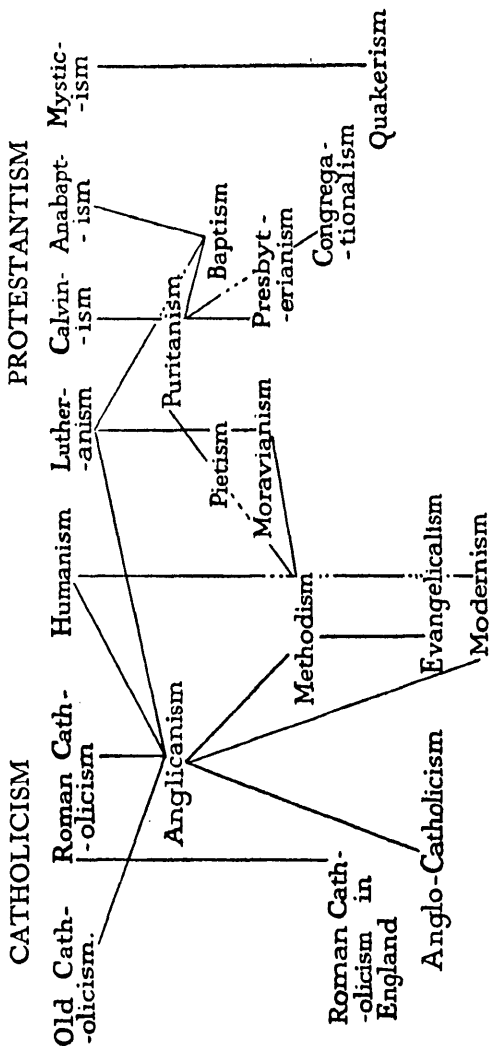
“bridge-church,” destined, as many of us hope, to bring about Church Unity!

To avoid misunderstanding, the diagram on p. 104 may show that there is more interdependence of the different influences and developments than could be described in our sketch.

The question now arises, how far all these roots of English Christianity are to be found influencing the development and message of Copec.

For this purpose we have already dismissed in the diagram Lollardism, as having died with the Reformation, leaving its Biblicism as a precious inheritance to Puritanism, as well as Nationalism, as being a political and not a religious influence which, moreover, in modern times has become more and more hostile to true religion, leaving only little room for good patriotism (that is why Copec had to fight against it). We may, furthermore, leave out of a more elaborate consideration Lutheranism, because its influence was too indirect and its sociology too weak to have even any considerable influence in Germany, and Humanism, because its stream flowed already during the later period of the Reformation into worldly channels.

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So much, however, can be said, that the high valuation of the Bible by English people, though chiefly through the Puritan emphasis on the Old Testament, has prepared the ground for the reception of the call to the Christian's social duty ; that all Copec people are good patriots longing, with William Blake, to " build Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land " ; that religious individualism not only helped to break down the barriers to capitalist enterprise, but also became, after having gone through a transformation in Methodism, one of the driving forces to Christian social charitable work ; and, finally, that the humanism of the Enlightenment and of the German Idealism propounded by Goethe and his group, after being transformed by Carlyle's prophetic personality, became a strong force for social justice and human betterment—all of which influenced the origin and development of the Christian Social Movement and, ultimately, of Copec.

What remains are the most important roots of English Christianity, which should be investigated more carefully as regards their influence on Copec : Old and Roman Catholicism, Calvinism, Anabaptism and Mysticism. They

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naturally fall into a Catholic and a Protestant group, thus confirming our view of the confessional division of England. This becomes even more evident if we realise that in the course of the seventeenth century they have been fused into two distinct types, one Catholic and the other Protestant, which have been called Anglicanism and Puritanism.

That the former belongs essentially to the Catholic type cannot be denied, considering its foundations laid by Hooker, its belief in the sacraments, in ceremonies and an elaborate system of services, in traditional hierarchy and, last not least, in the catholicity of the Church, as expressed in unity of doctrine, organisation and sacraments. Yet Anglican Catholicism, which includes Anglo-Catholics as well as Central Churchmen and all those who believe in the catholicity of the Church of England, is a distinct type of Catholicism of its own, quite different from Orthodox or Roman Catholicism (31).

As regards Puritanism, we may follow Ernst Troeltsch (32), and Max Weber (33), who called it "ascetic Protestantism." This name describes the fact that it demands an ascetically strict way of life, expressed not in with-

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drawal from the world, as in the case of mediæval asceticism, but in individual moral self-control, for which reason these scholars call it "inner-worldly asceticism" (*innerweltliche Askese*). They designate it as Protestantism's chief strength, and say that the Anglo-Americans are its main representatives. The essence of it is, according to Troeltsch, the emphasis on the sanctification of the whole of life, and connected therewith a practical ethic which regards the duties of business life as a testing place, and their conscientious fulfilment as a sign of grace. "The utter disregard of sentiment and pleasure in labour, its unresting devotion to a goal in the Beyond which demands a whole life of labour, the valuation of all earthly things as mere means to an end, the methodical suppression by hard work of every instinct which might distract or weaken, and the self-sacrificing use of profits for the religious community and for the common good, all these are its principles and ideals, and they . . . have been and are practically realised to a considerable degree" (34). If we think of the sketch of the English middle-class type in the second chapter, we shall see that an exchange of influences must have taken place between it and this religious

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type, and that the Anglo-Americans are the chief representatives of ascetic Protestantism. It will also be clear why Max Weber in his investigation of the spirit of capitalism calls ascetic Protestantism and its ethic the main root of the capitalist spirit, for what has just been sketched is the old ethic of the small middle-class capitalist.

We have thus only two main roots left : Anglican Catholicism and ascetic Protestantism. These two correspond to the two main types of the English national character laid down in a previous chapter ; ascetic Protestantism to the bourgeois type, as we have just seen, and Anglicanism to what we defined as the " ruler-type." In fact, one can say—though with caution, for there are transition types, and every generalisation is an exaggeration—that ascetic Protestantism was more prevalent in the middle classes and Anglicanism in the higher classes of society. And when the English proletariat came into being, there grew with it a religious type of its own, a sort of combination of the two former : Methodism.

We may now proceed to our investigation of the contributions which Catholicism and Protestantism have made to Copec, be-

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ginning, as a matter of convenience, with the latter.

2. *The Protestant Elements in Copec*

Let us begin with Mysticism as the extreme form of Protestantism, which, as we have seen, found its expression in England in *Quakerism* (35). A considerable number of its fundamental ideas have been adopted by Copec. Like the Quakers, Copec does not believe in predestination, but in the spark of good in every man. The "Inner Light," which shows each man the way of God if he will only seek it within—this mystical element, too, is to be felt in Copec, apart from the fact that it is mentioned in the reports. The peculiar combination of Individualism and Socialism, that is to say the equally high estimation of personality and community, is also an essential part of Quakerism, which gives the individual member full freedom and holds him responsible to his Inner Light, and, nevertheless, expects him to subordinate himself to the community—the Society of "Friends"—mystically united in silent worship. The insignificance of dogma compared with the practice of Christian love, and the complete disregard of all questions of

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formal service and Church government, which have played such a large part in English Church history, are characteristic of both Quakerism and Copec. It is the same spiritual principle. Closely connected with this is the absence of clerical preponderance and the co-operation of laymen on an equal footing, to which Copec undoubtedly owes a great measure of its success, and which, it is hardly necessary to say, is a feature of the entirely lay Society of Friends. But it is perhaps most significant of all that it was the Quaker, John Bellers (d. 1725) who first "recognised the shortcomings of the social ideas of the bourgeoisie, and, led by Christian, as well as by economic and social, considerations, to make proposals, first to the Friends and then to Parliament, for Socialistic co-operative production. In the nineteenth century, then, Robert Owen built on the foundation he had laid, and found some of his best helpers among the Quakers" (36). Since the Owenites were the forerunners of the Christian Socialists, the line of investigation leads us right into the development of the Christian Social Movement. But we are not concerned with the work of individuals here, and Socialism cannot be regarded as an out-

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come of Mysticism. Yet it is very strange that Quakers have from the beginning held up their testimony for peace and, in the course of their history, have stood in the forefront of Christian social reform work (Anti-slavery Movement, Prison Reform, Poor Relief, Education for Children and Adults). For this cannot be explained by Mysticism. Troeltsch has, therefore, in my opinion rightly, pointed out that "Quakerism is a synthesis of Mysticism and Anabaptism, and was ultimately driven very near to Puritanism, which at first it so sharply condemned" (37). Most of the social activism of Quakers must then be regarded as due to one of the other great Protestant influences mentioned above. That there must be some affinity between Quakerism and even Baptists seems to me to be proved by the fact that some of the leading Quakers, as, *e.g.*, at present, H. G. Wood and W. E. Wilson, have originally been Baptists. That, on the other hand, shows that however small the influence of Continental Anabaptism on English Baptists was, some of its elements must have been accepted.

Troeltsch tries to explain this by distinguishing between an aggressive and a passive form of *Anabaptism*, the former having helped to

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create those revolutionary sects mentioned before, while the latter, as far as it appeared in England at all, has been absorbed by the Baptists and Quakers. Yet this does not explain their social activism, and that is why I cannot help thinking that even the social revolutionary Anabaptism must have dug itself deep into the minds of English Protestants. To avoid misunderstanding may I say clearly that the term "Anabaptism" is used here entirely in the sense, as understood by Troeltsch, of a type of Protestantism which pushed, during the Reformation, some (not all) of the Protestant principles, as, *e.g.*, salvation, prophecy, and the idea of the Church as a Communion of the Saints, to their farthest extreme.

Anabaptist elements have exerted an indirect if not a direct influence on Copec. First of these is one that was effective in Quakerism too—an ethical radicalism which revolted against the compromise, into which the State Churches, and ultimately all organised Churches, are forced—a quite "unbourgeois" conscience, which will not be set at rest by any theories or everyday needs, but stirs unmistakably at every un-Christian act and forces to active reform. This element was undoubtedly present in the origin

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of the Christian social movement, and has thus come down to Copec. Closely bound up with this is a second element which has exerted its influence in the same place, viz., an almost fanatical belief in the possibility of reforming the world if only Christ's Will be done. Such an optimism, which regards the highest ideals as attainable, because it holds fast to the Divine promises, is one of the most characteristic features of Copec. A third is no less bound up with these—it arises from an enthusiastic conception of the Kingdom of God—one which criticises the whole social order and demands and expects a complete reorganisation. In that sense Socialism—in an extreme communistic and enthusiastic form—has been an ideal of the Anabaptist sects. At various points Copec, too, inclines to this radical Socialism (38). These three elements can probably be traced ultimately to a fourth—one which takes as its guide the Bible, above all the New Testament, and in that the Sermon on the Mount. (It is significant that all through Church history almost all "heresies" have claimed to be based on the New Testament and the Sermon on the Mount.) Now we have already seen that practically all the

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Copec reports are based on the New Testament, and the condemnation of war, for example, is derived from the Sermon on the Mount. After all this I hope not to be misunderstood in saying that Anabaptist elements are also found influencing Copec.

It is very interesting, however, to notice that just in these same elements the influence of *Calvinism* can be traced, and, moreover, almost in all as a corrective. This, strangely enough, does not so much refer to Puritanism, but rather to the *original Calvinist* elements present in all the English churches. For this, too, is socially active, as it showed both in its primitive period at Geneva and in its later development ; it demands a Christian social order—witness the Geneva theocracy—it turns its back on the compromise of a national church and aims like the Anabaptists at the Communion of Saints, only that Calvinism does not limit it to willingly converted Christians, but attempts to force all to enter—that is to say, it demands all—inclusive national churches ; and it, too, draws its final authority from the Bible. In this last point, however, the difference begins, and as a result spreads to the other elements too—Calvinism relies in practice much more on the

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Old than on the New Testament—whence the decided emphasis on law, the justification of assassination of tyrants, and so on. Thus it is that the revolutionary elements in the Anabaptist social radicalism—awakened without doubt by the Sermon on the Mount—are transfused in Copec into the form of social legislation; thus the hope of a reformed world is based less on enthusiastic faith than on conscious labour in God's service; it is not the revolutionary but the evolutionary conception of the Kingdom which triumphs. The subjective attitude of the Baptists and Quakers is outweighed by the objective element of the organised Church. This explains why Copec, in spite of the above-mentioned influences, is not revolutionary but evolutionary in tendency, and expects a social rebirth not from a revival of primitive Christianity but from the Church. It explains, too, why the Copec radicalism is so restrained, objective and dispassionate, which means that it is not less but more dangerous to the existing order. Finally, it helps us to understand the peculiar co-existence of Copec's uncompromising appeals to conscience and its sympathetic understanding of the difficulties connected with it, which it shows, for example,

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in the following quotation : " On the one hand, it (the Church) must not lay upon men's consciences and imaginations burdens greater than they can bear . . . nor must it, on the other hand, suffer men to remain disastrously content with institutions which fail to embody the spiritual principles of their religion " (39).

That covers a great part of what, in the Copec attitude, can be attributed to Calvinist influence. Above all, the element which is most essential to Copec must once more be pointed out : the impulse to Christianise the whole of social life, very well described in the case of Calvin himself by Hundeshagen (40) : " For Calvin the gospel was not merely a power unto salvation for the individual who believed in it . . . but at the same time the remedy for public and universal evils, the element of purification and rebirth for large societies." That explains why the Copec movement did not grow up in a Lutheran country, but in one where Calvinism is the prevailing form of Protestantism.

Moreover, English Calvinism, in the form of *Puritanism*, is of special importance as a root of the Copec movement. In the first place, as already mentioned, the Calvinist idea

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of reunion was taken up and advanced by the Puritans, especially by Cromwell. In England it naturally took the form of an attempt to unite co-operatively the extraordinarily divided national sects, and after Cromwell the thought of a union of all Protestants fell into the background. In Copec this ideal has been realised in greater measure than was even hoped for then. That the principle of equal status for all denominations was accepted so entirely without question is a consequence of Copec's democratic attitude, which was also expressed in its declaration in the report on politics (41), that democracy is the highest form of government. The historical report shows that this is due to Puritan influence. On p. 116 we read: "Politically, Puritanism and the influence of the sects developed democracy. In the seventeenth century the Puritans at least ensured the constitutional character of our monarchy. In the eighteenth century the little independent churches proved themselves to be the training-ground of modern democracy." On the whole, we can say that Puritan Calvinism created the conditions necessary for Copec, for without the optimism which believes in the possibility of renewing the world and setting up the

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Kingdom of God on earth, without the earnest striving for sanctification, which must affect the unsanctified world, without the high valuation set on morality, all of which Puritanism has made a matter of course to the Englishman—Copec would have been impossible.

Now that we have seen that Copec was influenced by all the elements out of which "ascetic Protestantism" was born, it is time to ask whether Copec can be regarded simply as the expression of ascetic Protestantism. This does not necessarily follow, for it is conceivable that these elements could have operated in other forms or other combinations, and that other influences might have been of importance.

We quoted before Troeltsch's account of the development of Quakerism, in consequence of which it became part of "ascetic Protestantism." If we compare this with the way in which it influenced the origin and ideas of Copec we must come to the conclusion that it was the early original features of Quakerism and not the later which exercised this influence. Not the capitalist, "respectable," middle-class Quakerism has had much effect, but that

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socially radical Quakerism which lives and breathes in the spirit of the Gospel. It is much the same with the Baptist and Anabaptist elements. Not the respectable, Bible-class elements, those content with things as they are, have been operative in Copec, but the genuine original elements, radical, unsatisfied, enthusiastically optimistic, socially activist, putting the words of the Bible into practice. And even as regards Calvinism, whose partly restraining influence has been stressed before, Copec has not been directly influenced by those elements which trained up the capitalist spirit, the individualist, self-righteous, bourgeois morality, which Max Weber has described, for they would have put into practice the English principle of "making the best of" the capitalist system, instead of condemning it with the decisiveness of the Report on Industry and Property.

In all three elements of "ascetic Protestantism" then, just those elements which led to the latter's development are lacking in Copec, and we find, instead, their older, more natural features alive again. We must then regard Copec, though having grown out of a ground prepared by ascetic Protestantism, as

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in itself a reawakening of original elements in the constituent churches, and seeming to point to a transformation of "ascetic Protestantism" into "social Protestantism."

This concludes our survey of the Protestant influences on Copec. I hope it will be understood that we have not tried to measure the share which the different Protestant denominations have in Copec, thus giving to the Quakers an undue preponderance. They have only been mentioned because, without referring to them, the influence of Mysticism cannot be made evident. So have the Baptists been mentioned in order to make clear their difference from, as well as their affinity to, Anabaptism, believing, I admit, the latter to be greater than Dr Whitley and others seem to suggest. Just as the chief share of Baptists in Copec may be due to Calvinist influences, so probably the share of Presbyterians and Congregationalists is covered by it. A mixed influence may have caused the considerable share of the Methodists, a chief element of which has been mentioned in the previous paragraph. The same applies to what there is of Protestant Anglican influence.

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3. *The Catholic Elements in Copec*

We can say at once that *Anglican* Catholicism is an important root of Copec, considering the large part it took in the history of the movement.

As regards the Copec ideas it seems to me to be largely to Anglican credit that Copec in all the reports makes the Church the centre of all activity. For whatsoever may be said about Protestant ideas of the Church, such ideas have never played a decisive part in any Protestant denomination. The doctrine of the Church is the weakest point in Protestant theology; here is the Achilles heel of Protestantism. To call, therefore, the Church to corporate action, as Copec constantly does, is an essentially Catholic attitude, while all Protestants are more or less (at least dogmatically) individualists. Copec thinks that individuals should continue to do all they can; but, above all, the Church is to take action. The suffering masses look to the Church for a lead, for an answer to the burning questions of the day. Everything that formerly, and even now in other countries, was, and is, demanded of radicals and social reformers, now

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is demanded by and of the Church—the Church is the challenger and the challenged! This is, I think, one of the most important features of Copec.

Closely bound up with it, as implied by the idea of the catholicity of the Church, is the idea of unity, the importance of which for Copec need no longer be emphasised. Whatever may be said of the work of Free Churchmen for Reunion dating, as has been mentioned before, back to Calvin and Cromwell, and however much Protestant freedom and mysticism may prepare the ground for Church co-operation, the only real driving force to Reunion is the idea of the catholicity of the Church, and nobody can deny the fact that the Church of England from its beginning stood for at least national unity of doctrine, organisation and sacraments as no other of the English Churches has done. It is to the credit of Anglicanism that it kept the old idea of the catholicity of the Church of Christ free from any orthodox or clerical limitations. It had a national limitation which, however, it is shaking off more and more, and this is one of the reasons why it could become a leading power at Stockholm and Lausanne.

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If, so far, we could trace the influence of general Anglican Catholicism (which, to repeat it, includes all Anglicans who believe in the catholicity of the Church), we find some important features of Copec which seem to go to the credit of *Anglo-Catholicism*. I am thinking of the stress Copec lays on the social implications of the doctrine of the Incarnation and the Eucharist. One cannot but be reminded of *Lux Mundi* when he reads of this; but I found the idea most beautifully expressed in the following passage from the little book, *The Church and New Century Problems* (42): "We want to show that it is by the inspiration of worship that men go out into the streets to help. There is no alternative between the Christianity inside the Church and the Christianity outside. It is the theology of the Incarnation that makes us care about drains, and our love for the Sacraments that impels us to love the body and flesh and blood. Within and behind all that we do, as its force and impulse, must be the risen Christ of the Revelation, with the Holy, Holy, Holy!" It is to those Anglo-Catholics who bear the honorary title of "Slum Priests," that we must look for the most evident realisation of this ideal.

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It may be doubted whether Anglo-Catholicism does well in trying to revive the social ethics of Thomas Aquinas. But there is no doubt that when the Catholic Revival of the Oxford Movement—like the Romantic Movement in Germany—turned the mind of European Christians for the first time since the Reformation back to the Middle Ages with a sympathetic look, it prepared the way for the reawakening of the great conception of a common Christian Culture, the social implications of which are as obvious as they are revolutionary, regarding the present state of society. It is one of the greatest achievements of Copec to have taken up this great idea, the importance of which has been emphasised in our introductory chapter. Here lies one of the most valuable Catholic contributions to Copec.

This raises the question whether *Roman Catholicism* had any influence upon Copec. The result of our investigation is that, although several Jesuits have co-operated in preparing the Reports, there is no trace of a real Roman Catholic influence, beyond the general Catholic influence just mentioned. Just as the Church of England never considers a return to Rome—the Malines conversations had no result,

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because Rome did not see another way except "return," a way which true Anglicans never go—so Copec, while profiting of the inspiration of Catholic ideas, definitely refused to make the Church an authoritative body, the utterances of which should be obeyed by all Christians. The Church offers guidance, and thus has a certain authority, *i.e.*, in so far as it appeals to the Christian conscience, and even tries to represent a collective conscience. But it would never try—according to Copec ideals—to press its view upon men's consciences, because there is enough Protestantism in Copec to guarantee freedom.

We can say then, in conclusion, that both essentially Protestant and essentially Catholic elements in English religious life have operated on Copec ; that is to say that Copec has sprung from the typical English forms of Christianity, the roots of which can be traced back to the Reformation.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The Significance of the Copec Movement

IN conclusion it will be worth while to recall briefly the results of our investigation, and thus try to gain a clear view of the significance of "Copec."

We may ascribe to the Christian Social Movement the fact that public opinion, and particularly Church circles in England, have since its beginning shown a growing understanding of the social question and of the needs of the proletariat, and that, in consequence of this, the English working-class is by no means generally hostile to the Churches, as is the German. After what has been said above, we may come to the conclusion that Copec has not only taken up and continued, but also deepened and widened, the activities of this movement, and that its great extent and leavening influence seems to be bearing the

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Christian social ideal to decisive success. If—as so far has been the case—ever wider Church circles are touched by the social needs of the time, then the English working-class will have no cause to leave the Churches, and England will be spared the division of the nation into two bitterly hostile classes to the degree to which that has happened in Germany. There is, moreover, no better means of keeping Bolshevism out of the country. The Church, whose deadness and lack of contact with life is lamented again and again by sincere and eager Churchmen, will receive new life from the Copec spirit if the Church is doing—what the Copec Report on the Nature of God demands (43)—collective penance. That this is possible shows that the seed sown by English martyrs in ages past, and not less during the war, when so many Christians went to prison for conscience' sake, is bearing fruit. Copec, then, which concentrates its thoughts on the Gospel, and tries to make it a living power again, is perhaps part of a new Revival Movement, for which the twentieth century is waiting.

This revival springs, as we have seen, from the old roots of English religious life. Our investigation has shown that these are at work

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in Copec mainly in their original forms. The original Catholic ideal of Anglicanism finds a true expression in Copec, with no tendency towards Rome. In the same way the old Protestant elements are to be found again in Copec, not simply as mere forms, but so much alive that Puritanism, though dead, seems to arise out of the ashes, like Phoenix, in a new form: "ascetic Protestantism" has become *social Protestantism*, no longer a justification for capitalist individualism, but a call to social responsibility. This re-forming of English Protestantism and its co-operation with Anglican Catholicism in Copec is making way for something which is significant far beyond the bounds of the English Churches.

A Church co-operation has been achieved such as hitherto appeared impossible. That, and not less the renewal of the consciousness of the Christian social ideal, and the careful work laid down in the Reports, has made Copec—what Archbishop Söderblom called it as early as the Birmingham Conference—"the main foundation of the Stockholm Œcumenical Council." That is the world importance of Copec. For, if the Anglicans are trying to form a link between Protestantism, on the one

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hand, and Greek and Roman Catholicism on the other, it was for the success of Stockholm of the greatest importance that in Copec the link between Anglicanism and Protestantism had already been forged and thus proof given of the possibility of co-operation between Protestants and Catholics. And if it is true that all reform should begin at home, it must be granted that English Christians have begun there in Copec. Only by bringing about a measure of reunion in their own country could they bring a blessing to the Christians of the world.

This raises the question of the cultural significance of Copec. The connection with Stockholm is one side of it, but does not exhaust it. For if Copec comes far behind Stockholm in its extent, in its intensity it is just as far ahead. Copec had already realised much of what in Stockholm was still a distant ideal—unity, spiritual co-operation, the growth in fellowship, the definite attitude to important social questions, and much more. The reports and the message of Stockholm were, therefore, often a diluting of what the Copec Reports had already laid before the Council as the English contribution, and it is Copec that must be regarded as the most powerful expression in

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the world of ideas of the international movement for cultural rebirth sketched in the Introduction.

It is, therefore, of importance to recall briefly Copec's world programme as set forth in the Report on International Relations (44). The world, it says, must be regarded as a whole, and, moreover, as a moral unity on the basis of a universal Christianity. The first step is the unity of Europe, for which the way has already been prepared in the economic and intellectual sphere by the improvement of communications and politically by the ideal of the "United States of Europe." First of all, however, Europe must attain moral unity on the basis of the Christian principles of Justice, Brotherhood and Love. From the common faith a common culture will follow. All this must come naturally, not artificially, but Christians must work untiringly for the foundation of all cultural unity, which is religious unity, not in organisation but in spirit. This programme is supplemented by criticism of the present social order, above all in the Report on Industry, which sees the main evil in the system rather than in the individual and, therefore, demands a radical, if gradual, change of

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the whole economic order (45). That is a Socialism which proves itself to be Christian Socialism, in that it makes the change of system dependent on a change of heart.

But the full significance of Copec only becomes clear in the light of the following words of Ernst Troeltsch (46): "The failure of the main historical forms of Christian social doctrine and practice has various reasons. . . . If the Christian social movement is to be master of the situation, we need new ideas which have not yet been conceived and which are suited to the situation, as older forms suited older situations. They must be derived from the innermost springs of the Christian idea and not simply from the New Testament, just as the two main forms (mediæval Catholicism and ascetic Protestantism) were derived not from the New Testament but from the movement of religious ideas at the time. . . ." The very conditions which Troeltsch makes here have been strikingly fulfilled by Copec, and his scepticism, too, is justified by the fact that none of the old forms of Protestantism, but a new one, which is just dawning, seems about to accomplish the cultural task of the present. Copec is, in fact, a new, perhaps too bold but

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nevertheless fruitful, interpretation of the relations between Christianity and the world, derived both from the New Testament and from the prevailing movement of religious thought. That may be claimed as the quint-essence of all that has been said before.

So we have found an answer to the question : Why has Social Christianity its deepest root in England ? for we have seen that here lies the *charisma* of the English nation. Moreover, we have seen a vision of the great implications of this. Is it not extremely significant that this movement springs up just at the moment when atheist society is bankrupt and a longing for true religion is more and more felt in Socialist circles ? Is it not probable that a united socially-thinking Christianity meets the need of the day and will, therefore, actually be seized on as a new revelation ? Christianity, like no other religion, has set up and realised the ideal of fellowship. Now, if Protestantism has, indeed, been the religion of the individualist age, though it has lost influence as individualism has gained, how much more is a synthesis between social Protestantism and Catholicism fitted to become the religion of the dawning Socialist age ?

CONCLUSION

The Copec organisation has been broken up, but Copec is not dead. On the contrary, its spiritual nature is now fully revealed since it has been freed from an organism which, though giving effectual expression to it, made it always liable to be regarded as a concern of a certain group of people. That Copec is much more than this has, I hope, become clear enough through the investigation of this little book. It was from its beginning meant to give expression to all the movements for Christian social reconstruction, just as all of them have more or less contributed to its origin and development. Copec is no organisation of its own, it is an idea, the ideal aim which stands before all Christian movements, national and international, denominational and œcumenical, a banner flung high into the air in order that every Christian may see what he ought to stand for if he wants to be an active disciple of Christ :

A CHRISTIAN ORDER IN POLITICS, ECONOMICS
AND CITIZENSHIP !

NOTES

(1) Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, translated by J. W. Harvey. Oxford, 1923.

(2) Heinrich Frick, *Der katholisch-protestantische Zwiespalt als religionsgeschichtliches Urphänomen*, in P. Tillich, *Kairos*. Darmstadt, 1926.

(3) Luther, *Deutsche Messe*, in the Weimar edition of his works, Vol. 19, p. 75; in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 22, p. 230 *seq.*

(4) René H. Wallau, *Die Einigung der Kirche vom evangelischen Glauben aus*, p. 213. Berlin, 1925.

(5) O. Baumgarten, *Religiöses und kirchliches Leben in England*, p. 57, 1922.

(6) J. F. Laun, "Thomas von Bradwardin, der Schüler Augustins und Lehrer Wiclifs," in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. 47 (1928), p. 333 *seqq.*

(7) Henry W. Clark, *History of English Nonconformity*, Vol. I, title of Chapter II. London, 1911-13.

(8) See below, pp. 106, 121.

(9) Cf. Wallau, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-212.

(10) H. Frick, *Die Evangelische Mission*, pp. 92-94. 1922.

(11) Cf. Wallau, *op. cit.*, p. 50, and D. Heath, *The Free Church Movement in England*, pp. 9 *seq.* London, 1902.

(12) Cf. A. C. Headlam, *The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion*, pp. 197-201 and pp. 226-228.

(13) In an address of February 1895 on "The Reunion of the Churches."

(14) Cf. for the following chiefly G. K. A. Bell, *Documents on Christian Unity*, 1920-24. 1924.

(15) E. Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*. 3rd edition. Tübingen, 1923.

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(16) R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study*, being the first series of the *Holland Memorial Lectures*, held in 1922. London, 1926.

(17) Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*. Vol. 1. Tübingen, 1920.

(18) Cf. for this and much of the following, *Christian Social Reformers of the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Hugh Martin. London, 1927.

(19) Cf. chiefly Ch. Raven, *Christian Socialism*, 1848-54, London, 1920; also M. Kaufmann, *Christian Socialism*, London, 1888; and a very good though short presentation of the movement in German by Lujo Brentano, *Die christlich-soziale Bewegung in England*. Leipzig, 1883.

(20) *The Message of the Church to Labouring Men*, pp. 6, 8-9. 5th edition. London, 1851.

(21) Cf. the periodical *The Student Movement*. Vol. 26 (1924), No. 8. Of all the movements mentioned above, the Student Christian Movement has, according to the testimony of a number of well-informed people, done most to prepare the way for Copec by bringing students together who became later on ministers and lay members of almost all different denominations.

(22) Cf. J. F. Laun, "Die Bruderschaftsbewegung in England," in *Die Christliche Welt*, Vol. 42 (1928), pp. 614 *seqq.*, 753 *seqq.* and 952 *seqq.* This is, as far as I see, the first attempt of a comprehensive and scientific description of the Brotherhood Movement, with an appreciation of its wider significance.

(23) The Rev. John Brown Paton, M.A., D.D., of Nottingham, had already in 1873 in a lecture, later (in 1885) printed with the title *The Inner Mission of Germany and its Lessons to Us*, laid stress upon practical Social Christianity. In his *Inner Mission* Leaflets he has further urged the Churches to social service for the sake of the Kingdom of God (cf. esp. Nos. 1 and 14) and, at the same time, to Home Reunion (cf. esp. No. 4, written in 1887).

(24) *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation*, edited by Ch. Gore. 1st edition, pp. 524 *seq.*

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London, 1889. Through *Lux Mundi* quoting Nelson and Nelson quoting Paton, I was led in my research to see this line of development. Dr Gore has lately, in a private conversation upon my question whether he thought that this was right, said that it was very likely. "Lord Nelson used to go about the country saying things like this," he said.

(25) Cf. for the following J. Adderley's Essay on *Scott Holland in Christian Social Reformers*, quoted in Note 18. *Ibid.* further Lit.

(26) Adderley, *op. cit.*, p. 223. Cf. the pamphlet of the early days on "The Christian Social Union." B. F. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, for many years President of the Christian Social Union, gave an interesting address in 1894, showing the development of the movement during its first few years. Cf. also "Christian Social Union," three addresses by B. F. Westcott, H. S. Holland and Ch. Gore, delivered at the Christian Social Union Conference at Bristol in 1896. For Holland's share in its origin, cf. Stephen Paget's *Biography* (London, 1921), pp. 169-173, and pp. 240-251; Ch. Gore, *Holland and the Christian Social Union*.

(27) J. Adderley, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

(28) *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

(29) Cf. for the following: E. Shillito, *Christian Citizenship: The Story and Meaning of Copec*; S. E. Keeble, *Copec: An Account of the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship*; *The Proceedings of Copec*, edited by W. Reason; and Lucy Gardner's account of the story in the *Conference Handbook*, all in 1924. Most of these, including all the Reports of Commissions, are published by Messrs Longmans, Green & Co. For the Lit. published by the Copec Continuation Committee, see back of No. 2 of Vol. III (February 1927) of *The Copec News*. Besides, there appeared a Report on "Rural Life" (Longmans, 1926), and a collection of Essays on "Christianity and the Present Moral Unrest," with contributions by Dr Temple, by the Master of Balliol, Prof. H. G. Wood and C. C. Webb, and others (Allen & Unwin, 1926).

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(30) I hope to show in a book on Bradwardin to what extraordinary extent this great thinker has anticipated the stern theology of Puritanism.

(31) Cf. Arthur C. Headlam, *The Doctrine of the Church*, etc., pp. 197-201 and 226 *seqq.*, and *The Church of England*, 1924, esp. pp. 240 *seqq.*, where testimonies of Anglican formularies and Divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries about the position of the Church of England are collected, all maintaining its catholicity and yet freedom from Rome. Cf. further, W. Clark, *The Anglican Reformation*, pp. 350-362. New York, 1897.

(32) Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, in Note 15.

(33) Weber, *op. cit.*, in Notes 17.

(34) Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 949 *seq.*

(35) For the following cf. esp. Rufus Jones, *The Faith and Practice of the Quakers*. London, 1927.

(36) Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 915 *seq.*; cf. Rufus Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, pp. 316 and 340. London, 1921.

(37) Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, p. 916, Note 497.

(38) Cf. above all the Copec Report on "Industry and Property," last chapter.

(39) Report *Historical Illustrations*, etc., p. 167.

(40) *Beiträge zur Kirchenverfassungsgeschichte und Kirchenpolitik*, 1864, pp. 294 *seq.*, quoted from Troeltsch.

(41) Pp. 29 *seq.*

(42) *The Church and New Century Problems*, edited by W. J. Hocking, Preface, p. vi. 1899.

(43) P. 127.

(44) Cf. chiefly pp. 19, 26, 101 *seq.*, 11 *seq.*, 104 *seqq.*, 115, 117, 108 *seq.*; quoted according to the quotation of thoughts in the text.

(45) Cf. chiefly Chaps. II, III, IV and V; pp. 186 and 5. It is very interesting to note that the idea of property in the Report is a sort of compromise between the Individualist and the Socialist interpretation. The right to personal property is to be limited by and made to depend on the property rights of the community.

(46) *Op. cit.*, p. 985.

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